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ABSTRACT

This book of readings on issues related to adult career development was written for anyone who provides career services to adults (career counselors, human resource specialists, or graduate students in the field) and attempts to present ways for such service providers to help adults face and negotiate change. The book is divided into six sections examining: (1) theories and concepts of adult career development; (2) strategies and methods for providing career services to adults; (3) target populations; (4) settings; (5) training programs; (6) evaluation; and (7) future trends. In their articles, the 34 authors who have contributed to this book focus on specific theories, concepts, or models that they have found useful in understanding the topic they address; the relevant issues surrounding that topic; and the practical implications of these concepts and issues. It is noted that the book may be read from cover to cover or used as a reference for certain key issues and topics. (NB)

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Adult Career Development

Concepts, Issues and Practices

Edited by: Zandy Leibowitz and Daniel Lea

Adult Career Development: Concepts, Issues, and Practices

Editors: Zandy B. Leibowitz
H. Daniel Lea

Preface

The National Career Development Association (formerly NVGA) is proud to present this first major publication under our new name. This important book strengthens the NCDA tradition of publishing timely, quality, and useful publications.

We have Zandy Leibowitz and Danny Lea to thank for their many hours of tender and loving care in nurturing this volume to completion. Their tireless efforts and dedication to quality have resulted in a publication that we are certain will prove useful to theorists, counselor educators, and practitioners in a variety of settings.

The editors labored hard and long to get just the right authors to deal with the important topic of adult career development. It is clear from the contents that they identified some of the top people in the counseling and career development field to carry out the task. They have taken us into theories, strategies, populations, settings, training, evaluation, and the future and in so doing have provided a truly comprehensive picture of the still emerging topic of adult career development.

Although we know that career development of adults is just one stage in life-span development, it is one that for many years was neglected. Researchers, agencies, institutions, and private practitioners are now giving much attention to this group. It is still important to remember, however, that what happens prior to adulthood will have a profound effect on one's adult options—that many adult career decisions are influenced by factors of race, sex, ethnicity, disability, class, age, and sexual preference.

But what is happening to adults in society today offers profound challenges for counselors and career development specialists. Whether people are in involuntary transitions such as job dislocation or voluntary ones such as conscious midlife career change, solid professional assistance is needed. We hope this volume will help to increase the professional knowledge and competencies of those who assist adults as they make important life career decisions at different stages of their development.

The NCDA Board of Directors extends our deepest gratitude and thanks to Zandy Leibowitz and Danny Lea for giving so generously of their time and talents to bring this important publication to fruition. Special thanks go to the authors who shared their time and expertise, and to the Publications Committee, chaired by Roger Aubrey, and formerly by Martin Gerstein, for their advice in relation to the publication and promotion of this volume.

Sunny Hansen
President
National Career Development Association
December, 1985

Acknowledgements

First of all, special thanks to NCDA for envisioning this book, asking us to edit it, tolerating our missed deadlines, and finally, publishing it. By the time it is published, we will have relied on the support of four NCDA presidents and three NCDA publications chairpersons! Also thanks to AACD Press for their help in the final phase of publication.

This book contains the contributions of many people. The chapters reflect the work of 34 authors, each of whom contributed large amounts of time and energy with no monetary compensation. Suzanne Sedge spent countless hours doing the arduous first-cut editing of what was once a huge, unmanageable volume of material. Sandy Harding typed and typed and typed far beyond the call of duty. Marilyn Merikangas, Mary Kate Smith, Alison Amato, and Baiba Seefer also gave editorial, clerical, and layout support during the final hour. Special thanks to all.

This book is dedicated to those who know us best and love us anyway: Linaya Yates-Lea, Jennifer Lea, Barry Leibowitz, Haley Leibowitz, and Alex Leibowitz (who insisted upon being born midway through the writing of this book).

—Zandy and Danny
Silver Spring, Maryland
July, 1985

Table of Contents

Preface iii

Acknowledgements v

Table of Contents vii

Introduction xi

***Section I*: Theories and Concepts: A Variety of Ideas** 1

Chapter 1: Adult Development Theories: Ways to Illuminate the Adult Experience 2
Nancy K. Schlossberg

Chapter 2: Career Development: Theories and Issues 17
Carole W. Minor

Chapter 3: Adult Learning: A Brief Overview 40
Linda Morris

***Section II*: Strategies and Methods: A Variety of Approaches** 49

Chapter 4: The Program Developer as Learner 50
H. Daniel Lea
Zandy Leibowitz

Chapter 5: Appraising Adults' Career Capabilities: Ability, Interest, and Personality 63
John O. Crites

Chapter 6: Counseling Adults for Career Change 84
Lawrence Brammer
Philip Abrego

Chapter 7: Systematic Career Guidance and Computer-Based Systems 95
JoAnn Harris-Bowlsbey

Chapter 8: A Team Approach to Career Counseling 108
Carol A. Blimline
David R. Schwandt

***Section III*: Target Populations: For a Variety of People** 115

Chapter 9: Career Counseling Women: Principles, Procedures, and Problems 116
Louise Fitzgerald

Chapter 10: Adult Men's Career Transitions and Gender-Role Themes 132
James M. O'Neil
Diane M. Fishman

Chapter 11: Career Development and the Ethnic Minority 163
Anita Hughes
Barbara Smith

Chapter 12: Conjoint Career Counseling: Counseling Dual-Career Couples 171
Lynne B. Hazard
Diane Koslow

Chapter 13: Counseling Adults in Midlife Career Transitions 187
Philip Abrego
Lawrence Brammer

Chapter 14: Preretirement Programming: Beyond Lectures 208
Marilyn W. Merikangas
Bruce R. Fretz

Section IV: **Settings: In a Variety of Places** **233**

Chapter 15: Career Planning and Development in Organizations 234
Peter Cairo

Chapter 16: Adult Career Development in University Settings: Practical Perspectives 249
Dennis L. Keierleber
L. Sunny Sundal-Hansen

Chapter 17: Community-Based Adult Career Counseling 272
Jane Goodman
Elinor Waters

Chapter 18: Career Counseling Adults in a Community College Setting 287
Patricia Haskell
Nancy Wiener

Section V: **Training Programs: Preparing Ourselves** **295**

Chapter 19: The New Career Development Professional: A Training Model 296
Florence Lewis
Janice M. Chiappone

Chapter 20: Training Professionals for Career Development Responsibilities in Business and Industry 310
Martin Gerstein
Neal Chalofsky

Section VI: **Evaluation: Establishing Our Effectiveness and Accountability** **325**

Chapter 21: Evaluation: Measuring Effectiveness of Adult Career Development Practice 326
Robert Bhaerman
Robert Campbell

Section VII: **Future Trends: Anticipating the Future** 341

Chapter 22: Future Trends in Adult Career Development 342
Donald E. Super

INTRODUCTION

JUST WHEN I THOUGHT I HAD THE ANSWERS . . . THE QUESTIONS CHANGED

Elusive answers . . . frustrating questions . . . the essence of adult career development. All of us grew up with the perpetual question, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" Most of us have struggled with the answer. Some of us may have managed to find a career niche for ourselves through trial and error or even luck, but the answer may have been only temporary. The only constant in adult career development seems to be change. Most of us will face two to three changes in our career lifetime. The once-and-forever career choice is becoming a myth due to rapid technological, organizational, and personal realities.

With change a certainty in adulthood, how do providers of adult career development services help adults face and negotiate change? This book was written to help answer that question. It covers a range of concepts, theories, and, particularly, strategies about working with adults.

This book is intended for anybody charged with the responsibility of providing career services to adults—career counselors, human resource specialists, or graduate students in the field. The book can be read from cover to cover or as a reference for certain key issues and topics. The one disclaimer that seems appropriate is that by including a cross section of views and writings, we're sure that we've excluded some others. Thus, the book must serve as a selected, certainly not a comprehensive view.

At present, adult career development practice is best characterized by diversity. The organization of the content of this book reflects this diversity. Adult career development is a variety of ideas—*Section I: Theories and Concepts* . . . used in a variety of approaches . . . *Section II: Strategies and Methods* . . . for a variety of people . . . *Section III: Target Populations* . . . in a variety of places . . . *Section IV: Settings*. . . . In order to handle this variety we need to prepare ourselves . . . *Section V: Training Programs* . . . to establish our effectiveness and accountability . . . *Section VI: Evaluation* . . . and to anticipate the future . . . *Section VII: Future Trends*.

Likewise the authors represented have a variety of conceptual orientations and methodologies and have worked with diverse populations in a variety of settings. Each was asked to address three specific questions:

1. What specific theories, concepts, or models have you found useful in understanding your topic?
2. What are the relevant issues surrounding your topic?
3. What are the practical implications of these concepts and issues?

We hope that what is written will be used as food for thought and practice.

SECTION I:

THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

A VARIETY OF IDEAS . . .

CHAPTER 1

Adult Career Development Theories: Ways to Illuminate the Adult Experience

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Adult development theories provide a lens through which to view adults in relationship to their work. Adult development theories are presented not only to explain the role of work in adults' lives but to amplify the knowledge gained from the field of career development. This article describes four adult development perspectives and their implications for practitioners in their work with adults.

FOUR PERSPECTIVES ON ADULTHOOD

Adult development theorists view the adult experience from different perspectives. For example, one group explains adulthood within the cultural context. A second group focuses on the psychological developmental stages of the individual. A third group discusses the adult experience in terms of transitions. A fourth group examines continuity and change over the life span.

Cultural Perspective

Theorists who focus on the cultural context—social environment—believe that given a particular environment, individual life stories will be predictable and similar. For example, the life stories of bakery workers throughout France indicate similar family lives, health, and activities outside of work. Bertaux (1982) explained this similarity in terms of the production structure, not in terms of psychological tendencies. Bakery workers have long hours, at least 9 hours per shift 6 nights a week, and their work time begins around 3 a.m. and continues until noon. This work pattern affects their social life, sex life, and energy levels.

Another example of viewing adulthood within the cultural context is Rosenbaum's (1979) theory that midlife crises can be predicted from examining the impact of organizational structure rather than the aging process. His research indicates that promotion chances in organizations increase until age 35 to 40 and then decline. Specifically, promotion chances for those with baccalaureate degrees reach a peak (over 60%) at age 35 and then decline abruptly during the next 5 to 10 years (less than 20%). Midlife crises become predictable from the extreme decline in promotion chances for those individuals. Because the popular press attributes midlife crises to the psychological effects of aging, Rosenbaum's views demonstrate how the cultural perspective deserves notice.

In addition, Kanter (1977) also attributed human problems to the organizational structure rather than to intrapsychic issues. She believes that the structure of the work systems and the resulting environment are largely responsible for the behaviors people engage in at work and outside. For example, she argues that to understand secretaries' behavior it is important to examine how organizations define and structure secretarial work and reward commitment to employers. Interviewing individual secretaries is not the way to gain this understanding.

Developmental Perspective

The most widely read group of theorists explain adult behavior in terms of age and sequential stages of development. For example, Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee (1978) divided adult behavior into six age-related sequential periods:

- leaving the family—late adolescence to about age 22;
- getting into the adult world—early to late 20s;
- settling down—early 30s to early 40s;
- becoming one's own person—age 35 to 39;
- making a midlife transition—early 40s; and
- restabilizing and beginning middle adulthood—middle and late 40s.

Levinson et al. (1978) emphasized similarity in the adult experience. They believe that young people have dreams about what they will become. Mentors help them implement their dreams. Then in midlife people begin to evaluate their lives in terms of their early dreams. It is important to note that Levinson's sample, although extensively interviewed, consisted of only 40 men.

Other theorists postulate that adults pass through developmentally sequenced stages that are not based on chronological age. Some people move through the stages swiftly, whereas others become arrested at one stage and never move forward. Important in this group is Erikson (1950), who described a predictable eight-stage progression in ego development. Each stage is characterized by a crucial issue that must be successfully resolved before the individual can move on to the next stage. The adult stages involve issues of: identity (Who am I?); intimacy (Can I be committed and close to others?); generativity (Can I nurture others?); and ego integrity (Am I satisfied with my life?).

Vaillant (1977) identified an additional developmental stage in Erikson's progression as career consolidation. This evolved from a longitudinal analysis of advantaged men who progressed through Erikson's basic stages. Vaillant found that those men who were able to achieve intimacy were able to deal effectively with their careers and then nurture younger men in their career quests. In other words, the career consolidation stage occurs between Erikson's intimacy and generativity stages. Vaillant found the same progression through Erikson's stages when he examined longitudinal data on inner city men.

Gould (1978) explained the stages of adult development as the progressive struggles for freedom from the internal constraints of childhood. He perceives people at all ages as being "stuck" and needing help with the underdeveloped aspects of self. Gould's theory on the struggle for freedom from childhood constrictions and belief that maturity arrives after age 50 are similar to Erikson's view that successful aging requires resolving crucial issues. Yet, Gould conceives of a continuous process of developing some aspect of self whereas Erikson believes the resolution of each crisis is the completion of a developmental stage.

Still other theorists view adult development as moving from the simple to the complex. For example, Kohlberg's (1970) moral development and Loevinger's (1976) ego development theories described adults as progressing from dependency on outside authority and others' judgments to a higher stage of responsibility for consequences of actions and a tolerance for ambiguity. For example, two couples are facing parenthood for the first time. One couple might deal with this experience by relying on their pediatrician's fiats, whereas the other couple might rely on their own judgment as to the best course of action. According to the developmental view, the second couple has reached a higher, more complex developmental stage.

Another developmental perspective stems from Jung's work as corroborated by Fiske (1980) and Gutmann (1977). This view compared men and women and discovered that as men aged they began to place more value on expressive and interpersonal goals, whereas women began to direct their interests outward and to become more concerned with contributing to society. In other words, men began to turn inward or become more introspective as they aged and women began to turn outward or become more involved in the external world. When comparing the developmental stages of men and women, the effect is of "crisscrossing trajectories" where succesive stages reflect different developmental changes and scheduling.

Most of the research behind the theories mentioned in this section has focused primarily on men; yet the application of these theories has been considered useful for both men and women. Gilligan (1983) challenged this application. She believes that even when differences between men and women are pointed out, they are presented in terms of deficits. A woman lacks a penis, an occupatio. , or an education. She also contends that most developmental theorists have dealt with individual progression through various stages with a focus on achievement and work. There is little concern for love. Gilligan (1982) identified different issues as being central to the development of women. They are issues of attachment, caring, and interdependence. Her work involved extensive interviews with women at decision points in their lives such as whether or not to have an abortion. She listened to the differences in voice tones or differences in the language used to discuss the choice point. Her findings seem to have important implications for women.

Gilligan's (1982) results indicate that a woman's moral development begins with a concern for survival, moves to a concern with responsibility (not hurting others), and finally becomes a concern for meriting equal care for self. Renegotiation of interdependence over time is a critical issue of adult development for women. Whether this renegotiation takes place between parents and children, teachers and students, therapists and clients, or researchers and subjects, it is a continuous process for women. Gilligan asserts that maturity is different for women than for men and that these differences must be built into current models of adult development. No longer can the view be of the "heroic individual" marching predictably up the sequential stages. Instead the view is of the individual renegotiating interdependence and caring. The metaphor changes from one of stairs to one of widening circles of attachment.

Transitional Perspective

Nearly all cultures celebrate rites of passage for birth, puberty, marriage, death, and other major life events. One way to look at the adult experience is through these events or transitions.

Cultural norms sometimes dictate age-appropriate behavior when there is little biological basis for that behavior (Neugarten, Moore, & Lowe, 1965). In fact, most of us hold rather rigid views about what constitutes appropriate behavior for people at different ages. For example, societal norms prescribe at what age people should take jobs, marry, have children, and retire. In fact, if an individual experiences an event at an age different from that prescribed by our culture, it may be considered "off-time" and the person may have more difficulty with the transition as a result. The extent to which these ideas prevail was investigated in studies by Neugarten and her associates. They found that at least 80% of their sample of "normal, middle-class Americans" believed that the best age for men to marry is between 20 and 27 and for women between 20 and 22, and that people should retire between ages 60 and 65. Such norms as these constitute our "social clock."

Today the prescriptions for and predictability of age-appropriate behavior are lessening (Neugarten et al., 1965). Because people are living longer, the postparental period has lengthened considerably. At the same time many young people are attending college and going on to graduate or professional school and delaying their "economic maturity." Patterns for women have changed radically. More young women are now employed full-time. Many middle-aged women are returning to the labor force after their children leave home. In addition, child-rearing practices are changing. Fathers are beginning to share the responsibility for parenting with their working wives. Couples are also marrying later and more are deciding not to have children.

Lowenthal & Pierce (1975) discussed major life events or transitions in their longitudinal study, *Four Stages of Life*. They focused on four transitional groups of men and women in the San Francisco area: graduating high school seniors, newlyweds, middle-aged parents, and preretirement couples. At the start of the study each group was on the threshold of a major transition. The researchers found that the groups differed considerably in their general outlook on life, the stresses they faced, and in their attitudes toward those stresses. They concluded that it is less important to know that a person is 40 years old than it is to know that the person is 40 with adolescent children, recently divorced, and about to enter the work force. It is clear that the transition itself is more important than the age of the individual. For example, men facing retirement after an active social life encounter many of the same problems whether they retire at age 50, 60, or 70. Newlyweds of any age are engaged in similar tasks of bonding, discovery, and negotiation. In short, life events or transitions are more important than chronological age in understanding and evaluating behavior.

Lowenthal & Pierce (1975) also highlighted the different ways men and women handle transitions. Women generally have less positive self-images than men, feel less in control of their lives, and are less likely to plan for transitions. At the same time their affective lives are richer and more complex and they have a greater tolerance for ambiguity. Men's life styles become less complex as they grow older and shed roles and activities. Women, on the other hand, have a simplistic pattern as high school seniors and middle-aged women and a complex pattern as newlyweds and before retirement. This is due to the complexity of playing many roles and engaging in many activities in the later transitional stages. Also highly stressed men in the older groups tend to deny stress, whereas women tend to be preoccupied with stress in the older groups.

Schlossberg (1984) developed a model to look at transitions both from how they affect an individual's life and how the individual copes with them. Her model incorporates both anticipated and unanticipated transitions. Anticipated transitions are expected events that have a "likelihood of occurrence for the individual" (Brim & Ryff, 1980, p. 374) and can be rehearsed. Some examples include an expected promotion, scheduled retirement, or a planned career change. Unanticipated transitions are the "nonscheduled events" that are not predictable. These usually "involve crises, eruptive circumstances, and other unexpected occurrences that are not the consequence of life-cycle transitions" (Pearlin, 1982, p. 179). "Events of this type in the occupational arena are being fired, laid off, or demoted; having to give up work because of illness . . . being promoted, and leaving one job for a better one. Divorce, separation . . . premature death of spouse . . . illness or death of a child represent such events in the parental arena" (Pearlin, 1982, p. 180).

After considering transitions and their impact, the second part of Schlossberg's (1984) model focused on the process of assimilating transitions. During this process the individual moves from being enveloped by the transition to eventual integration. For example, the individual is no longer the graduate, but someone who has graduated. The third part of the model identifies the variables in three clusters that influence the ease with which the transition is assimilated—first, the characteristics of the transition: timing, source, and duration; second, the characteristics of the individual: coping and ego strength; and third, the characteristics of the environment: the individual's support and options. This eclectic model is substantiated with data from three major studies to date: the impact of geographical moving on men and women (Schlossberg, 1981); the experience of men whose jobs were eliminated (Schlossberg & Leibowitz, 1980); and the identification of transitions by clerical workers (Schlossberg & Charner, 1982). The model incorporates both a sociological perspective of identifying anticipated transitions or rites of passage and a psychological perspective of examining the individual's response to anticipated and unanticipated transitions.

Life-Span Perspective: Continuity and Change

The adult experience incorporates both continuity and change. Theorists who examine adulthood from this perspective consider the continuous aspects of the adult experience; change over the life span; variations in how groups experience adulthood; and the socioeconomic, racial, and ethnic differences.

Brim and Kagan (1980, p. 13) described their life-span development approach as "an emergent intellectual movement, responsive to the possibility of change, currently trying to select its major premises, to gather new facts, and to conceptualize the developmental span without using chronological age categories." This is in distinct opposition to theories involving adult stages because "stages cast development as unidirectional, hierarchical, sequenced in time, cumulative, and irreversible—ideas not supported by commanding evidence."

In examining the life span, Neugarten (1982) emphasized the trend toward variability or individual fanning out. For example, 10-year-olds are more similar to each other than are 60-year-olds. The research on aging consistently shows that people grow old in very different ways. The striking variations among groups and the idiosyncratic sequences of life events make individuals between 60 and 80 years old highly unique. Today with changing life patterns, the life course is fluid. It is marked by many role transitions, proliferating timetables for role entries and exits, and dissimilar age-related roles.

The Grant Study (Vaillant, 1977) covered 35 years for over 200 men. Most of the sample had high ability levels and were from high socioeconomic backgrounds. When the study began the men were college sophomores. This study also corroborates the individuality and variability in the adult experience. The purpose of the study was to predict what sophomores would do with their lives. When all the data were in, it became clear that people's futures are shaped by the quality of their sustained relationships with others, not by childhood traumas, and that the course of life has surprising outcomes.

Conclusions

Each theorist provides valuable insight, but as Pearlin (1982) stated, "There is not one process of aging, but many; there is not one life course followed, but multiple courses . . . There is not one sequence of stages, but many. The variety is as rich as the historic conditions people have faced and the current circumstances they experience" (p. 63). Then too, similar events have different effects on different people because of variations in coping responses. "All in all, it seems untenable to speak of either ages or life stages as though they are made up of undifferentiated people following a uniform life course" (p. 71).

Pearlin (1982) cautioned not to glorify one stage and dramatize another. The fascination with the midlife crisis is a case in point. Crisis can occur at any period. In fact, young adults experience more strains than other age groups. Yet the media and some scholars continue to dramatize crisis in midlife, the inevitability of which is not corroborated by hard data.

Indeed, Pearlin's cautionary note regarding ages and stages should be our concern about any theoretical perspective. Overemphasizing any particular life event, period, or transition categorizes people as if they were all the same. Yet adults come in all shapes and sizes, with widely differing personalities, perceptions, and life experiences. Of course, the setting and historical period must be considered as well as the particular transitions an individual has experienced. However, never discount the variety of experience and the individual's uniqueness in interpreting and reacting to life.

The major reason why four perspectives and many theorists have been presented is to point out that the answers to adult development questions will differ according to the perspective employed. Theoretical perspective determines whether one explains adult career behavior through the historical or cultural period in which the adult lives, through the developmental unfolding of individual lives over time, or through the expected and unexpected transitions adults experience.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

The central issue for practitioners is translating theories into effective practice. To do that, strategies will be explicated for each perspective: cultural, developmental, transitional, and life-span (see Table 1).

Cultural Practices

Practices stemming from the cultural perspective involve changing or modifying the system. For example, Rosenbaum (1979) pointed out the dangers of counseling employees to adjust to work situations that might be harmful to self-esteem and sense of control. Energy would be better spent on reorganizing organizational career systems. Rosenbaum makes several specific policy recommendations based on his analysis of organizational promotional practices. For example, he suggests promoting older individuals as their family responsibilities lessen.

Kanter (1977) corroborated Rosenbaum's position by juxtaposing two types of reform. For example, offer secretaries assertiveness training so they can stand up for their rights. At the same time, change the reward system for secretaries so their promotions and salary increases are de-

Table 1

The Adult Experience: Perspectives, Concepts, and Practices

Perspectives	*Concepts*	*Practices*
Cultural:	*Bertaux* • Life stories depend on work structure *Rosenbaum* • Career mobility results from organizational structure • Midlife crisis is a sociological phenomenon *Kanter* • Individual progress is determined by opportunity structure	Change or modify system Examples: • Hire and promote older individuals • Gear admissions and financial aid to older part-time individuals
Developmental: Age/Stage	*Levinson et al.* • Invariant sequence of developmental methods • Life structure • Dream, mentor • Polarities *Erikson* • Unfolding of life and resolving of inner issues • Hierarchical stages *Gould* • Release from childhood assumptions • Tinkering with inadequacies *Perry, Loevinger, Kohlberg* • Hierarchical sequence • Sequence in ego development and moral development	Design programs for people at different stages Examples: • Programs for returning students, preretirees Design programs for people who process work differently Examples: • Differential teaching, advising, and counseling Assess congruence of supervisor, supervisee along dimensions of personality, learning style, achievement Sensitize faculty, counselors, and others to age, social class bias

(Table 1 continued)

Perspectives	*Concepts*	*Practices*
	Fiske, Gutman ● Men and women express the dormant part of themselves at midlife *Gilligan* ● Critique of models based on men and applied to women ● Hierarchical models obscure other voices ● Widening circles of attachment ● Renegotiation of interdependence over time	
Transitions: Life Course/ Life Span/ Life Events	*Neugarten, Moore, & Lowe* ● Socially created rather than biologically determined transitions *Lowenthal (Fiske), Chiriboga, Thurnher* ● Life span ● Stage not age ● Coping with transitions: balance of resources to deficits ● Sex differences *Schlossberg* ● Types of transitions: anticipated, unanticipated, nonevents ● Coping moderators: transition, environment, self ● Transition process: over time, for better or worse *Pearlin* ● Coping, not life events, is central issue ● Classification of life strains and coping responses	Design programs for people in similar transitions ● Support from others who have successfully negotiated the same transition ● Provide cognitive map ● Offer programs at several times: before, during, after transition Teach individual coping skills ● To change situation ● To modify meaning of situation ● To relax

Life Span: Continuity and Change	*Neugarten* ● Capacity of individual to select, ignore, or modify socializing influence ● Fanning out and variations ● Fluid life span *Vaillant* ● Early trauma not predictive of later behavior *Pearlin* ● Variability ● Differential distribution of strains by sex, age, different patterns of coping *Brim, Kagan* ● Orientation (not yet theory) toward constancy and change ● Discontinuities rather than sequencing are studied ● Importance of variability based on cohort, sex, age, social class	Multiple programs for larger population ● Individual and group programs ● Media ● Other

pendent on their performance rather than on their loyalty to a particular boss. In other words, she advocates changing the system rather than the individual secretary. System modification can have an enormous effect on individual career development.

Developmental Practices

Kammen (1979) explained why the age and stage theories are so popular. "We want predictability and we desperately want definitions of 'normality'" (p. 64). The most popular developmental perspective in the press is that of regular stages with identifiable issues and tasks (Levinson, et al., 1978). This view would offer different programs for people by age. Administrators and employers would differentiate among groups in that way. For example, today, many write about the adult learner as an entity. Yet, the developmental perspective emphasizes that the adult employee or learner of 25 has very different concerns from the adult learner of 60.

Another developmental perspective claims that people process the world differently: some in either/or terms and others in complex ways. This implies that faculty, supervisors, and managers should engage in differential training depending on stage complexity. In other words, two employees who are regularly late are not the same and would respond differently to different types of supervision. One employee may need clear rules and clear consequences. The other may need more autonomy in setting hours and controlling work destiny.

Knefelkamp and Slepitza (1976) took Perry's cognitive developmental scheme (Perry, 1970) as a springboard for their work. Perry's model outlines in sequence the ways in which students intellectually process the world. Knefelkamp and Slepitza adapted the Perry model to career development. They developed ways to train career counselors to work differently with people at different levels of maturity. They challenged the assumption that all people seeking career advice about obtaining a first job, a promotion, a pay raise, or retirement plans are similar. They found that some need concrete suggestions whereas others need help in creatively exploring numerous possibilities.

The proliferation of measurement tools to assess workers' characteristics attests to the interest in differential treatment of workers. Some instruments differentiate learning styles of employees and students (Kolb, 1981). Others measure achievement style (Lipman-Blumen & Leavitt, 1977). Still others measure ways people approach the world (i.e., Myers, 1962). These measures are increasingly used in business and industry to help managers understand the importance of individual differences and the concept of team building. Thus, developmental differences are receiving some attention in practice today.

Transition Practices

All through life people are involved in transitions, many of them relating to work. Even when the transition seems personal (i.e., illness of a spouse), it may have work implications. There seems to be a ripple effect of transitions from one arena of life to others. Weiss (1976) classified transitions in three categories: crisis, transition, or deficit.

The first category, crisis, Weiss (1976) described as a sudden, severely upsetting situation of short duration that requires mobilization of energies and resources. An example of a crisis would be the sudden onset of a major illness or an accident. People in crisis are frequently emotionally numbed; their feelings are suspended. For individuals experiencing a crisis, support seems to be the only effective help. The helper, professional or nonprofessional, must communicate empathy, understanding, and a readiness to help the individual through the crisis. Such support is also helpful to those in transition states and deficit situations, but there individuals can benefit as well from other kinds of help.

When the crisis passes, the situation either returns to normal or results in change. The individual with the illness either returns to health, is permanently invalided, or dies. In the invalid case, the individual enters a transition state. This period is marked by relational and personal changes. It includes coping with upset, grief, and other disruptive emotions and finding new sources of support. It is also a time of confusion and uncertainty as the person attempts to rearrange his or her life. People in early transition are particularly likely to benefit from counseling because the decisions made at this point can affect the rest of their life course.

The end of a transition state is usually marked by a new life organization and personal identity. The new situation is either satisfactory or unsatisfactory. If it is unsatisfactory, the individual enters a deficit situation. For example, a widow may find that she has continuous difficulty in raising dependent children by herself. In contrast to a short-lived crisis, a deficit situation tends to be long-lasting. People in deficit situations may have stability even though their situation is unsatisfactory. Short-term help is of little value to them. They need a continuing, problem-focused support system. For instance, the widow may require continued help with her problems as she tries to raise children on her own.

People in transition must find new ways of managing their lives. Thus, cognitive information or materials to help them understand the new situation may be of help. For instance, the new widow may need help in managing finances or in locating child-care services. In addition, people in transition may be grappling with emotions that they do not understand. Thus, they may also benefit from cognitive materials that help them understand their emotions. Support groups may also be beneficial. The bereaved may find that the old social network gradually disappears and that social isolation sets in. Meeting with others in the same situation may have practical as well as psychological value. In this group setting, mutual problems and possible solutions can be shared.

In the work setting, people experience crisis such as being fired, transition such as moving into management or retiring, and deficit such as being demoted or plateaued. Organizations have now begun to develop programs for people in these transitions. They realize that supporting employees will be mutually beneficial to the individuals and the organization.

Pearlin's (1982) research demonstrated that men and women cope with transitions by either changing the situation, modifying its meaning, or relaxing in the face of stress. This information offers direct program possibilities. Counselors can design workshops to help people learn the three major coping strategies. Rather than focusing on one strategy (i.e., mediation, stress management, or relaxation), multistrategy workshops can be developed. Pearlin states that no single magic coping strategy exists. Effective copers use multiple strategies depending on the nature of the transition.

Life-Span Practices

Life-span orientation suggests that individuals deal with certain issues differently throughout life. For example, these issues might be relating to people, concern with self, or decision making. Both elementary school children and people in retirement homes make decisions. The content and quality of the decision making might vary. Life-span perspective shows the benefits of discovering life skills and developing programs to train people in these skills.

A life-span scholar of a different orientation might suggest that the variety of individual patterns makes categorization impossible. Therefore, multiple and multistrategy programs are needed. For example, adults "plateaued" in a work setting may feel distraught at remaining there for the rest of their lives. Those individuals could obtain help from a variety of programs such as individual counseling, a group support system, an internship involving trying something new within the organization, or a computer-based career guidance program. In other words, what works for one person might not work for everyone. Furthermore, what works for an individual at one time in his or her life might not be the most helpful strategy over time.

Conclusion

The utility of an eclectic perspective can be seen through an example of elderly parent care. Practitioners could work with an individual family or groups of families about appropriate arrangements. On the other hand, they could focus on changing funding for residential homes for ill older people or on reforming nursing homes and their image. If the transition were a heart attack, they could work with the spouses of heart attack victims, or they could design preventive programs, such as exercise and jogging programs, for the work setting to help ward off heart attacks.

In some programs helpers deal directly with the individual (i.e., the retiree, the abused, the new parent, the newly disabled). In other programs helpers deal with a significant other (i.e., the spouse of the newly disabled, the adult children of the aging person, the abuser). In addition, some programs deal with the system in which the individuals and significant others operate (i.e., an organization's retirement plan, a state's policy on housing for the elderly).

In short, the most optimal plan is one in which all aspects of an issue can be addressed simultaneously. In that way practitioners can help the individual in transition as well as help cause change in the system to enable persons to achieve their potential. Yet often, depending on resources, the decision must be made to work with the individual, the group, or the system. One particular goal must be identified.

The practitioner's orientation will influence both the analysis of and intervention plan for any issue. An example would be Rosenbaum's (1979) employees at the midcareer transition. If the helper sees the promotion issue as the individual's responsibility, the suggested intervention might be therapy or retraining. If the promotion issue is viewed as a function of the group, suggested interventions might be job redesign or skill training. Finally, if the promotion issue is seen as resulting from the organizational climate, the suggested intervention might be a new promotional system for older workers. In reality, all three sets of interventions may be needed.

Thus, evidently at least four different perspectives exist to explain the adult experience. Each perspective holds implications for practice. There is something to be learned from all four views. It is important to look at all perspectives and generate a variety of practices to help people better understand their careers.

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CHAPTER 2

Career Development: Theories and Issues

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For almost a century theories that explain career behavior and prescribe interventions have been formulated, discussed, and researched. These theories have developed chronologically from a prescriptive model of matching individuals with jobs (Parsons, 1909) through stage models of career choice and career development (Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951; Super, 1953) to more specific explanations of factors involved in career choices and adjustment (Holland, 1973; Krumboltz, 1979; Roe, 1956). This discussion is organized around the following assumptions (see Figure 1):

1. Career development is a continuous process over the life span;
2. Career development involves both career choice and career adjustment issues.
3. Both career choice and career adjustment involve content and process variables.
4. Theories tend to focus on either the content or the process of career choice or adjustment.

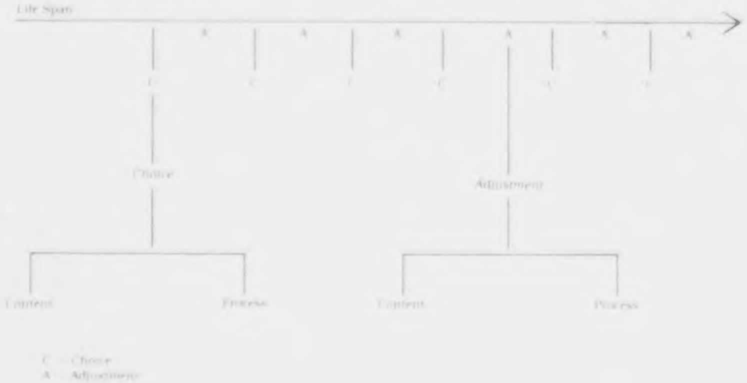
DEVELOPMENTAL FRAMEWORK

Developmental career theories provide a useful framework from which to view all other theoretical work. Historically, prior to the early 1950s, there was little career theory per se. In the first decade of this century, Frank Parsons (1909), developed a process of vocational guidance—an intervention model—which underlies most practice to this day. E.G. Williamson (1939) amplified and improved Parsons' intervention model, stating its assumptions. Other forces, including the increasing sophistication of the methods of differential psychology, improved the practice of what was known as vocational guidance. Basically, however, until the early 1950s both the general public and professional practitioners viewed occupational choice as a once-in-a-lifetime event. At some particular point individuals chose to enter occupations and generally continued in them for their entire productive lifetimes.

In the early 1950s two career theories represented a different view.

Figure 1

The Process of Career Development Over the Life Span



Ginzberg

Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma in 1951 described a career theory contending that:

1. Decision making is a process that occurs from prepuberty to the late teens or early 20s.
2. Many decisions are irreversible.
3. The resolution of the choice process is a compromise.

In 1972 Ginzberg revised his model to focus on the continuation of the career choice process throughout the life span. He revised his ideas as follows:

1. Occupational choice is a process that remains open as long as we make decisions about work and career.
2. Early decisions have a shaping influence on career but so do continuing changes of work and life.
3. People make decisions with the aim of optimizing satisfaction by finding the best possible fit between their needs and desires and the opportunities and constraints in the world of work (p. 173).

His recent writings (Ginzberg, 1984) support this reformulation with the addition of one point: "Occupational choice is a lifelong process of decision making for those who seek major satisfactions from their work. This leads them to reassess repeatedly how they can improve the fit between their changing career goals and the realities of the World of Work" (p. 180).

These changes that Ginzberg has made in his ideas over the past 35 years exemplify the changing view of occupation and career in our society. This view probably has resulted from the increase in both our knowledge of the adult work experience and the actual changes in our society in terms of stability of occupations and career patterns. For example, the idea of person/environment fit is important in each of Ginzberg's statements. However, it progresses from the idea that the resolution of the choice process is a compromise between what one would like and what is available (static choice) to choice being a lifelong process (for those who seek major satisfaction from work) between their own changing goals and the new realities of the work place (dynamic choice).

Super

Super (1953) presented a theory that was much more explicit and extensive. It was based in part on the early work of Charlotte Buehler (1933) in Vienna. Super's original propositions with more recent updates and modifications appear below.

1. People differ in their abilities, interests, and personalities.
2. They are each qualified, by virtue of these characteristics, for a number of occupations.
3. Each of these occupations requires a characteristic pattern of abilities, interests, and personality traits, with tolerances wide enough to allow both some variety of occupations for each individual and some variety in each occupation.
4. Vocational preferences and competencies, the situations in which people live and work, and hence their self-concepts are generally fairly stable from late adolescence until late maturity, making choice and adjustment a continuous process.
5. This process of change may be summed up in a maxicycle, or series of life stages, characterized as those of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline, and these stages may in turn be subdivided into (a) the fantasy, tentative, and realistic phases of the exploratory stage and (b) the trial and stable phases of the establishment stage. A recycling process takes place in the transition from one stage to the next involving minicycles of new growth, reexploration, and reestablishment. Recycling is also attempted each time an unstable or multiple-trial career is unstabilized.
6. The nature of the career pattern (that is, the occupational level attained and the sequence, frequency, and duration of trial and stable jobs) is determined by the individual's parental socioeconomic level, mental ability, personality characteristics, and by the opportunities to which he or she is exposed.
7. Development through the life stages can be guided, partly by facilitating the process of maturation of abilities and interests and partly by aiding in reality testing and in the development of self-concepts.
8. The process of career development is essentially that of developing and implementing self-concepts: it is a synthesizing and compromise process in which the self-concept is a product of the interaction of inherited aptitudes, neural and endocrine makeup, opportunity to play various roles, and evaluations of the extent to which the results of role playing meet with the approval of superiors and fellows.

9. The process of synthesis of or compromise between individual and social factors, between self-concept and reality, is one of role playing whether the role is played in fantasy, in the counseling interview, or in real life activities such as classes, clubs, part-time work, and entry jobs.
10. Work satisfactions and life satisfactions depend upon the extent to which the individual finds adequate outlets for abilities, interests, personality traits, and values; they depend upon the establishment in a type of work, a work situation, and a way of life in which he or she can play the kind of role that growth and exploratory experiences have led him or her to consider congenial and appropriate.
11. The degree of satisfaction people attain from work is proportionate to the degree to which they have been able to implement self-concepts.
12. Work and occupation provide a focus for personality organization for most men and many women, although for some persons this focus is peripheral, incidental, or even nonexistent, and other foci such as leisure activities and homemaking are central. (Super, 1984, pp. 194–196)

More recently Super (1976) has discussed the roles people play at different times in their lives and the theaters in which these roles are played.

A significant contribution of Super and Ginzberg and their colleagues was the idea that career development and even career choices were the result of a process rather than being a point-in-time event. They also presented the idea that career choices and career development could be described by means of stages. These developmental stages are considered to be hierarchical, sequential, and qualitatively different.

The reader will note similarities in Super's and Ginzberg's stages and in their more recent formulations, particularly Super's proposition 10 and Ginzberg's proposition 3 (revised).

Figure 2

Developmental Stage Models

Dalton, Thompson, and Price

Gene Dalton, Paul Thompson, and Raymond Price (1977) developed a model that describes the career stages of professionals in organizations. Although limited in the population it describes, the model does make a significant contribution to the understanding of successful careers in organizations. Basically, four stages illustrating the progression of the successful professional career in organizations are described.

Stage I. In stage I the individual is newly hired in the organization. The central activities of this stage are learning about the work of the organization, doing the routine work under the close supervision of someone more experienced, helping, following directions, and so forth. The others in the organization view this individual as a learner or "apprentice." The major psychological issue to be dealt with in this stage is dependence—following orders and being successful at routine work. The major task of this stage is accepting the routine work and doing it well, while demonstrating the ability and initiative to progress to the stage of independent contributor.

Stage II. The primary activity in this stage is being responsible for projects from conception to completion—doing all the work oneself. In this stage one is viewed as a colleague, an independent contributor. The major psychological issue to be dealt with is independence. The task of this stage is to develop an area of expertise and become skilled and respected in it. Some individuals tend to want to move through this stage too quickly, without fully laying the groundwork for the next stage by developing a high level of expertise in the work of the organization.

Stage III. This stage involves taking responsibility for the work of others. It may be in the form of line management, informal group leadership or mentoring, or the offering of expertise in ideas and suggestions. An individual in this stage is involved in training, supervising, and interacting with other parts of the organization or with other organizations. He or she is seen by others as an expert, a leader in the field, and sometimes a mentor to individuals in stage I. Many individuals remain productive in this stage for the remainder of their careers.

Stage IV. The final stage is one that few reach. Tasks of this stage involve policymaking and shaping the direction of the organization. The close mentoring relationships are no longer possible as this person moves to delegate responsibilty for the day-to-day work of the organization. This person "sponsors" individuals by creating experiences in which they can learn what is necessary to move up in the organization. The two major psychological issues of this stage are giving up the control of the day-to-day operations—delegating that responsibility—and exercising power. One of the major responsibilities of individuals in this stage is to exercise power for the benefit of the organization and the individuals in it.

Thus Dalton and associates take up where Ginzberg and others left off in describing what happens to an individual after an initial occupational choice is made. They amplify the tasks and experience of Super's establishment and maintenance stages. Although they do not discuss this directly, the assumption is that individuals changing occupations—the midlife career changers—would have to begin again in stage I, although they may progress through the stages much more rapidly than before.

Similarly, the latest work of Super (1984) suggests that although indeed he still believes there is a "maxicycle" over the life span, there can also be a number of "minicycles" during which the individual recycles through the stages.

This cyclical approach seems to be the most applicable to present-day career stages. The work of all the stage theorists may be viewed as presenting a maxicycle over the life span but also describing the minicycles of career change as it occurs in our society today. Figure 2 can be seen as describing this maxicycle. It should not be considered restrictive, but as possibly including several minicycles.

A significant limitation of all developmental career theories as well as of almost all other career theories is that the supporting research has been done exclusively on men. Super (1957), Zytowski (1969), and others have done research on career patterns of women as differentiated from those of men. The differences they found, however, have not been attended to in theory building. Gilligan (1982) found that stages of moral development of women were different from those of men. It is reasonable to assume that career stages, as well as patterns, may also be different for women. It is inappropriate to use models developed on men to categorize the development of women. Inevitably, under those models women may be found lacking, when actually they are only different.

John Crites (1981) added to the developmental view of career the idea that career choice can be viewed in terms of process and content. That idea provides the last level of organization for the model of understanding career theory (Figure 1).

In summary, this section has discussed the assumptions, propositions, and evolution of the developmental view. The following sections will provide some details as to how that developmental process operates. They will address what theory and research tell us of career choice and adjustment in terms of content and process.

CAREER CHOICE CONTENT THEORY

Career choice content theories predict career choices from individual characteristics. For example, Ann Roe (1984) postulated that the type of parental environment in which an individual is reared predicts occupational choice. John Holland (1985) predicted occupation from personality type using a six-category typology. Some sociologists have predicted occupational choice from demographic variables such as age, sex, and socioeconomic status. Trait-factor interventions are based in part on career choice content theories.

Holland

John Holland (1973, 1985) has developed the most heavily researched and widely used career choice content theory. The ideas that led to the development of the theory grew out of his experience as a military interviewer during World War II. After interviewing hundreds of young inductees who needed to be assigned a military occupational specialty (a job), he began to see patterns in what these individuals were saying about themselves, their interests, and their skills. These patterns were the beginnings of his personality typology.

Basically, Holland's ideas can be expressed as follows:

1. The personality types of individuals can be categorized into six types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional.

   > The *Realistic* type likes realistic jobs such as automobile mechanic, aircraft controller, surveyor, farmer, electrician. Has mechanical abilities but may lack social skills. Is described as conforming, materialistic, modest, frank, natural, shy, honest, persistent, stable, humble, practical, and thrifty.
   > The *Investigative* type likes investigative jobs such as biologist, chemist, physicist, anthropologist, geologist, medical technologist. Has mathematical and scientific ability but often lacks leadership ability. Is described as analytical, independent, modest, cautious, intellectual, precise, critical, introverted, rational, curious, methodical, and reserved.
   > The *Artistic* type likes artistic jobs such as composer, musician, stage director, writer, interior decorator, actor/actress. Has artistic abilities: writing, musical, or artistic, but often lacks clerical skills. Is described as complicated, idealistic, independent, disorderly, imaginative, intuitive, emotional, impractical, nonconforming, expressive, impulsive, and original.
   > The *Social* type likes social jobs such as teacher, religious worker, counselor, clinical psychologist, psychiatric case worker, speech therapist. Has social skills and talents, but often lacks mechanical and scientific ability. Is described as convincing, helpful, responsible, cooperative, idealistic, sociable, friendly, insightful, tactful, generous, kind, and understanding.
   > The *Enterprising* type likes enterprising jobs such as salesperson, manager, business executive, television producer, sports promoter, buyer. Has leadership and speaking abilities but often lacks scientific ability. Is described as adventurous, energetic, self-confident, ambitious, impulsive, sociable, attention-getting, optimistic, popular, domineering, and pleasure-seeking.
   > The *Conventional* type likes conventional jobs such as bookkeeper/stenographer, financial analyst, banker, cost estimator, tax expert. Has clerical and arithmetic ability, but often lacks artistic abilities. Is described as conforming, inhibited, practical, conscientious, obedient, self-controlled (calm), careful, orderly, unimaginative, conservative, persistent, and efficient. (Holland, 1979, p. 3)

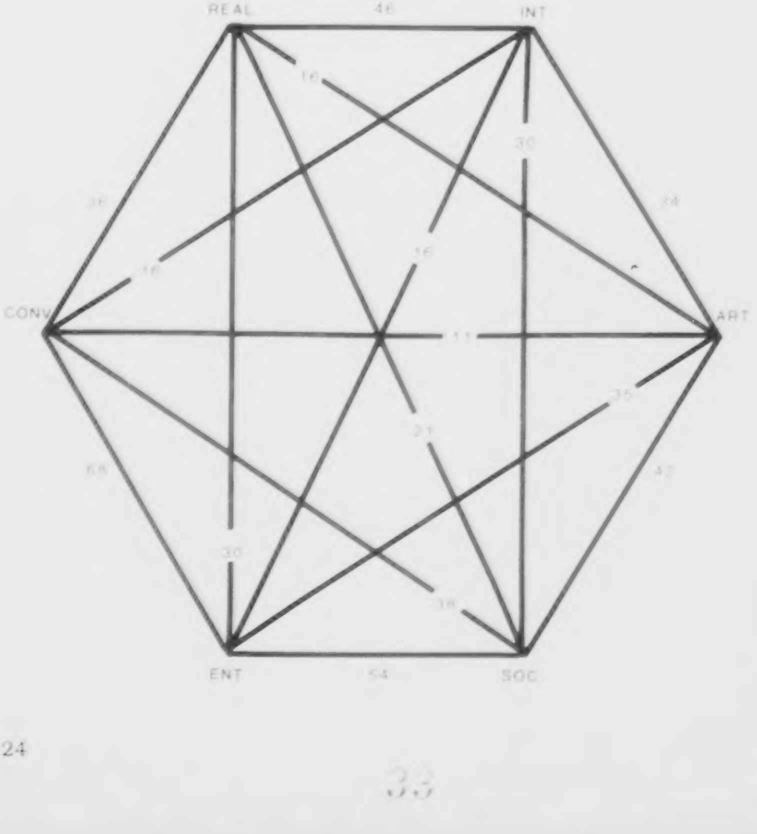
2. Environments can be categorized according to these same personality types. The personality types of the individuals working in an environment determine the personality type of the environment.
3. People search for environments in which they can use their skills and abilities, express their attitudes and values, and take on agreeable problems and roles.

4. An individual's behavior is determined by the interaction of his or her personality with the characteristics of the environment
5. The degree of congruence between a person and environment and the degree of consistency within a person or environment can be described using a hexagonal model (see Figure 3).
6. The degree of differentiation of the code (RIASEC) of an individual or environment modifies predictions made from an individual profile or a coded occupation (Adapted from Holland, 1979, p. 3–4).

Several elaborations need to be made on these points. First, the instrument that Holland developed to measure his personality types is called

Figure 3

A Hexagonal Model for Defining the Psychological Resemblances Among Types and Environments and Their Interactions. **From An Empirical Occupational Classification Derived From a Theory of Personality and Intended for Practice and Research (p. 4).** ***ACT Research Report No. 29, 1969, Iowa City: The American College Testing Program. Copyright 1969 by ACT. Reprinted by permission.***



the Self-Directed Search (SDS) (Holland, 1979). Upon completion of this instrument, an individual has devised a three-letter code composed of the first letters of his or her three most important personality types. This is called the individual's "Holland code."

Holland has assessed individuals who have entered or plan to enter many occupations and has defined the occupational environment by the predominant three-letter code in that environment. In this way an individual may look into an *Occupations Finder* and find listed occupations that are related to his or her Holland code. This correspondence is a most useful tool for career counselors. It has now been extended to relating Holland codes to each occupation listed in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Gottfredson, Holland, & Ogawa, 1982).

Holland states that people search for environments in which they can express their personalities. He does not state that individuals will be more successful or satisfied in congruent environments, although that is the assumption from which most counselors operate when using Holland's theory.

Three important concepts Holland uses are congruence, consistency, and differentiation. Using the hexagonal model (Figure 3), congruence is defined as a close correspondence between the individual's personality type and the type of the occupational environment. The degree of congruence is determined by the closeness of the individual and occupational types on the hexagon. For example, a social person in a social environment represents a high level of congruence; a social person in an enterprising or artistic environment represents a lower level of congruence; a social person in a conventional or investigative environment even less; and a social person in a realistic environment represents the lowest level of congruence.

Consistency is also defined by distance apart on the hexagon: the closer the codes, the more consistency. For example, SEA is composed of types adjacent on the hexagon and has a high degree of consistency. ACR is composed of types that are opposite or nonadjacent and are in the most inconsistent category. Individuals with inconsistent codes tend to have difficulty in finding occupations in which to express all facets of their personalities.

Differentiation refers to the magnitude of the difference between the raw scores the individual received on each of the types. Holland indicates that no real differences exist unless there is a difference of eight between any two scores. Some individuals have one or two high scores with all the rest equivalent; some have all high scores or all low scores. Individuals with low scores and indifferentiated profiles tend to be young and inexperienced with work.

One of the reasons for the widespread use of Holland's theory is that he has developed two instruments, the Vocational Preference Inventory and The Self-Directed Search, to measure personality types and to relate them to specific occupations. The Self-Directed Search, in particular, has been attractive to practitioners as well as easy to use in research. Other instruments, including the highly respected Strong Campbell Interest Inventory, have used Holland's typology as an organizing tool. Others have reworded his ideas and used them as the basis for assessment instruments in both paper-and-pencil and interactive computer-assisted formats.

Another reason, it is hoped, for the widespread use of Holland's typology is that the overwhelming body of research it has stimulated generally supports the theory (Holland, Magoon, & Spokane, 1981). In general, individuals do seek environments similar to their personality types, and there is some evidence that adults changing occupations do seek more congruent environments.

Roe

Anne Roe developed a theory that predicts occupational choice from the type of childhood relationships with parents. Her goal was to explain the origin of interests and needs. Her ideas were based on Maslow's (1954) concept of basic needs arranged in a hierarchy of prepotency. That hierarchy arranged in order from most to least potent is: (a) the physiological needs, (b) the safety needs, (c) the need for belongingness and love, (d) the need for importance, respect, self-esteem, and independence, (e) the need for information, (f) the need for understanding, (g) the need for beauty, and (h) the need for self-actualization.

Roe stated that: "In our society there is no single situation that is potentially so capable of giving some satisfaction at all levels of basic needs as the occupation" (1984, p. 32).

In order to study occupations, Roe first developed a classification scheme based on the primary activities of occupations. She developed a continuum based on the nature and intensity of interpersonal relationships required in the occupation. The resulting eight occupational groups are: (1) service, (2) business contact, (3) organization (managerial), (4) technology, (5) outdoor, (6) science, (7) general culture (preservation and transmission of the culture), and (8) arts and entertainment. She also classified the levels of responsibility of occupations. The levels are: (a) professional and managerial (independent responsibility), (b) professional and managerial (lower levels), (c) semiprofessional and small business, (d) skilled, (e) semiskilled, and (f) unskilled.

Roe hypothesized three categories of parental behavior toward children: (1) emotional concentration on the child (overprotective or overbearing), (2) avoidance (emotional rejection or neglect), and (3) acceptance (casual or loving). These types of childhood environments were then related in a predictive way to occupations categorized as either oriented toward persons or not toward persons. Later she expanded her dimension of classification of occupations to a two-dimensional system (Roe & Klos, 1972). One axis is orientation to Interpersonal Relationships-Orientation to Natural Phenomena, and the other is Orientation to Purposeful Communication-Orientation to Resourceful Utilization. Her picture of occupational classification is symbolized as a truncated cone with the eight occupational groups spaced around the circle with wider divisions at the highest levels and narrowing spacing as the levels progress downward.

Although Roe's propositions are intuitively sensible and her classification system useful, there is little empirical support for her propositions.

Roe herself stated, "It seems clear that there is no direct link between parent-child relations ahd occupational choice" (1984, p. 44).

Roe's contribution may be seen in part as an expansion of the earlier developmental work (Ginzberg et al. 1951, Super, 1957) in describing the process of career choice. She described the limitations of heredity and the influence of interaction with the environment, and tried to specify the character of that interaction. Even though that research does not support her ideas on how that interaction takes place—how the parental environment influences career choices—it does not mean that the interaction does not take place. In fact, recent research indicates that parental expectations do influence both educational and occupational choices (Conklin & Dailey, 1981; Lavine, 1982).

More recent and more applicable propositions (Holland, 1973) are similar to Roe's classification of occupations and levels. Thus, although her specific propositions have, in general, not been supported, her general ideas have stimulated research and thinking that have advanced the formulation of career theory.

Psychodynamic Theory

Bordin (1984) presented a psychodynamic model of career choice as a synthesis of previous applications of psychodynamic theory to career choice. The basis of this model is that ". . . the participation of personality in work and career is rooted in the role of play in human life" (p. 96).

Bordin's propositions are:

1. This sense of wholeness, this experience of joy is sought by all persons, preferably in all aspects of life, including work.
2. The degree of fusion of work and play is a function of an individual's developmental history regarding compulsion and effort.
3. A person's life can be seen as a string of career decisions reflecting the individual groping for an ideal fit between self and work.
4. The most useful system of mapping occupations for intrinsic motives will be one that captures life-styles or character styles and stimulates or is receptive to developmental conceptions.
5. The roots of the personal aspects of career development are to be found throughout the early development of the individual, sometimes in the earliest years.
6. Each individual seeks to build a personal identity that incorporates aspects of father and mother, yet retains elements unique to oneself.
7. One source of perplexity and paralysis at career decision points will be found in doubts and dissatisfactions with current resolutions of self. (p. 97–110)

The predictive aspects of this theory include the emphasis on needs and satisfactions that are developed at an early age. These are shaped by early experiences, identifications with mother and father, and sex role socialization (all of these being overlapping factors). Knowledge of these needs and satisfactions predicts how they will be acted out in the work place. For example, individuals whose needs are satisfied by the role of nurturer will go into nurturing occupations.

This theory also incorporates the idea of development, but it is primarily predictive. Its usefulness is in developing the notion that the part of our lives called work can satisfy some (but not all) of our psychological needs. It also does a good job of describing career choices in the context of a larger theory of personality and development.

As far as practical applications go, there are no instruments that effectively make these predictions for an individual. In usual practice based on psychodynamic theory, those relationships are specified directly by the individual therapist and depend on the skill and knowledge of that particular person.

Sociological Theory

Sociological research into occupational choice uses basically demographic variables to predict types of occupations entered. Its emphasis is on factors that are beyond the control of the individual, such as parent's (father's) occupation and education and labor market conditions. The categories of occupations studied are defined by occupational status.

There are several major foci of the sociological study of individuals and occupations. One is the area of status attainment. This line of research relates father's education and occupation to son's educational and occupational attainment. Blau and Duncan (1967) developed a model that indicates that father's education and occupation predicts son's education and that all three of those predict the son's occupational status. Other research by Sewell, Haller, and Portes (1969); Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf (1970); and Clarridge, Sheehy and Hauser (1977) followed a population of Wisconsin residents from youth to middle age. They found that both family status and mental ability predicted occupational achievement through influence on significant others, career plans, and educational level.

Status attainment research has been done on differences among the majority group (white men), women, and minority groups. Differences in income are larger between men and women than between whites and other races (Bridges, 1982; Corcoran & Duncan, 1979; Hartman, 1976; Mincer & Polacheck, 1974; Treiman & Hartman, 1981). Being of a racial minority or a woman then would predict lower educational level and occupational status than for a comparable white man.

Another area of sociological research in occupations has to do with the social and economic system. Blau, Gystad, Jessor, Parnes, and Wilcock (1956) developed a model that incorporates social structure (values, stratification, demography, technology, and type of economy), physical conditions, historical change, socioeconomic organizations, and immediate job requirements and characteristics as predictors of occupational entry. They described parallel determinants of biological attributes and personal qualifications and information about particular occupations that also influence occupational entry. Others have studied occupational aspirations and entry as a function of local labor market conditions, availability of information, and role models related to specific occupations and cultural restraints that narrow the consideration of potential occupations (Asbury, 1968; LoCascio, 1967; Schmeiding & Jensen, 1968).

Accident theory, or the effects of chance on vocational choices, has been discussed by Bandura (1982), Caplow (1964), Miller and Form (1951) and others. Basically, this is the idea of "being in the right place at the right time," of meeting an individual who has an important influence on one's career, of being born at a certain demographic time when there are few or many jobs or into a family with certain socioeconomic values and geographical location. Although "chance," thus described, certainly plays a part in everyone's life, other theories incorporate these and other variables related to occupational choice (Krumboltz, 1979). Thus chance cannot be looked at as an explanation of career behavior on its own.

Although there is not just one sociological theory of career choice or development, sociological research predicts occupational choice primarily in terms of status, using such variables as father's education and occupation, educational level, race, sex, and influence of significant others. Accident theory also falls into this category.

CAREER CHOICE CONTENT AND PROCESS THEORY

Krumboltz

John Krumboltz (1979) developed a theory of career decision making that is an application of social learning theory. This theory incorporates both the content and process aspects of career choice. It also explains some concepts discussed more generally in other theories. Two examples are accident theory from the sociological perspective and the development of the personality types from Holland's typology. This theory attempts to specify all of the "accidents"—they are described as genetic endowments and special abilities, environmental conditions and events, and learning experiences. John Holland (1983) said that this theory ". . . fills in the cracks in my typology." It explains how interest and personality patterns develop, an issue not addressed by Holland.

Krumboltz (1979) specified influences on career decision making, outcomes of interactions among influences, a set of theoretical propositions, and a description of the process of career planning and development.

Influences on career decision making. Four influences on career decision making are described. First are genetic endowments, such as race, sex, physical appearance and characteristics, and special abilities, including intelligence, musical and artistic abilities, and muscular coordination.

Environmental conditions and events also influence career decision making. They include such factors as job and training opportunities available; labor laws and union rules; amount of rewards for various occupations; catastrophic events such as earthquakes and floods; natural resources; technological developments; social organization and government policy; and family, educational, and community influences.

Learning experiences are the third category of influences. Krumboltz divides them into instrumental and associative learning experiences. Instrumental, or direct, learning experiences occur when an individual acts on the environment to produce consequences (operant conditioning model). That is, one or more of the events or conditions previously described interacts with a particular problem or stimulus presented to an individual. The individual responds and receives consequences (feedback, praise, reward, punishment, etc.) from the environment. The skills necessary for career planning and educational and job performance are learned through these direct experiences.

Associative learning experiences are basically the development of attitudes, feelings, and positive or negative occupational stereotypes through observation of the behavior or responses of others. This is done via a classical conditioning model—a previously neutral stimulus is paired with a positive or negative response and the neutral stimulus (e.g., occupational title) stimulates that positive or negative response.

The fourth influence on career decision making is task approach skills. These skills are developed as a result of the previous three influences. They are a set of skills and attitudes that influence career planning behavior as well as occupational performance. They include specific occupational and other skills, values, and work habits.

Outcomes of interactions among influences. As a result of interactions among the preceding four factors, three outcomes can be described. The first is the development of self-observation generalizations. These are a set of generalizations (such as, "I am good at telling funny stories") individuals make about themselves as a result of past learning experiences. They may not remember the actual experiences, but do remember and generalize the feedback they received in those types of experiences. Self-observation generalizations may or may not be accurate. They can be collected and organized by means of interest inventories.

The second outcome is the development of task approach skills. They are developed as a result of learning experiences. One of the more significant of these is the person's view of whether or not individuals can influence their own environments. If individuals have a number of experiences in which they attempt unsuccessfully to influence their environments, they develop the idea that "fate," not their own actions, is controlling their lives.

The final outcome of these interactions is action. This theory focuses primarily on entry behavior, that is, entering into an occupation or a training program for an occupation.

Theoretical propositions. Krumboltz's propositions state that:

1. An individual is more likely to enter an occupation if he or she (a) has been positively reinforced for activities related to that occupation, (b) has seen a valued model be positively reinforced for activities related to that occupation, (c) has been positively reinforced by a valued person who advocates that he or she engage in that occupation, or (d) has been exposed to positive words or images relating to that occupation.
2. A person is less likely to engage in an occupation or its related training and activities if he or she (a) has been punished or not reinforced for engaging in related activities, (b) has observed a valued model being punished or not reinforced for those activities, or

(c) has been reinforced by a valued model who expresses negative words or images related to the occupation.

3. An individual is more likely to learn appropriate career decision making skills if he or she (a) has been reinforced for those activities, (b) has observed a model be reinforced for those activities, and (c) has access to people and other resources with the necessary information.
4. An individual is less likely to learn the skills necessary for career decision making if he or she (a) has been punished or not reinforced for such behaviors, (b) has observed a model be punished or not reinforced for those behaviors, or (c) has little or no access to people or other resources with the necessary information.
5. An individual is more likely to enter an occupation if that individual (a) has recently expressed a preference for that occupation, (b) has been exposed to learning and employment opportunities in that field, and (c) has learned skills that match the requirements of the occupation.
6. An individual is less likely to enter an occupation if the individual (a) finds the cost of preparation to be greater than the eventual return or (b) is denied access to the minimum resources necessary for entering the occupation.

Krumboltz views the career planning and development process as an interdependent sequence of learning experiences that follows the above-stated rules. Although he describes this as a lifelong process of each experience building on the last, he stops short of describing "development" as a process that could be composed of discrete, hierarchical, sequential stages.

This theory provides an explanation of the mechanism of all the career choice content and process theories. The addition of some of the developmental concepts and some propositions regarding work adjustment could make it a more comprehensive career theory.

CHOICE AND ADJUSTMENT PROCESS THEORY

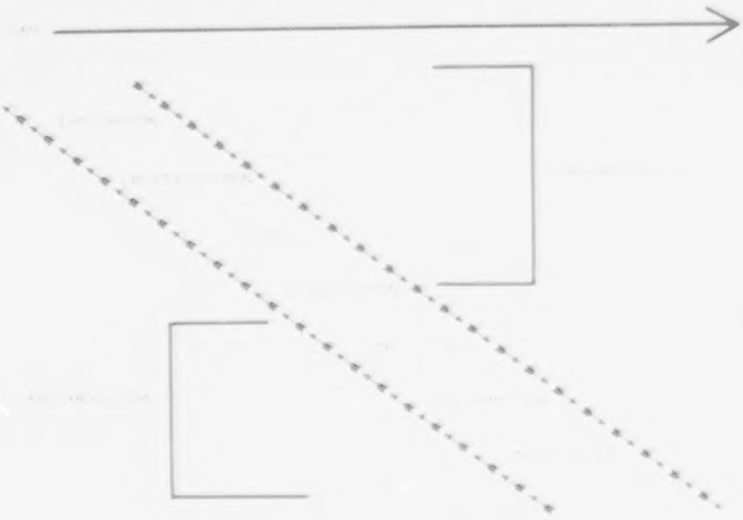
Tiedeman

The work of David Tiedeman and his associates over the years describes the processes of both career choice and adjustment. Originally, Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963) described a model that was directional (though not irreversible), developmental (based on the ideas of Erik Erikson), and somewhat similar to that of Super (1953) in that it specified a series of stages individuals progress through over the life span. They formulated a model that described an individual's progress of career choice and implementation. (See Figure 4.)

The first phase, anticipation, consists of four stages prior to entry into an occupation. Exploration is a period of somewhat random behavior in which the individual interacts with the environment and receives feedback. It is a period of collecting observations about that interaction (dif-

Figure 4

A Career Decision Making Model Adapted from Tiedeman and O'Hara's Paradigm of the Processes of Differentiation and Integration in Problem Solving. From Career Development: Choice and Adjustment (p. 40) *by D.V. Tiedeman and R.P. O'Hara, 1963, New York: College Entrance Examination Board. Copyright 1963 by CEEB. Adapted by permission.*



ferentiation) and incorporating that information into the ego identity (integration). Crystallization begins as these observations begin to form patterns (e.g. "I like to work with my hands" or "I am good at influencing other people"). Choice is the process of using those observations to make a tentative choice and to begin to act upon it. Clarification is the period of preparation for entry into the occupation, during which the choice is reconsidered and specializations are considered.

The second phase is called implementation. First, there is induction. This is the first entry into a job in the field. It is a period when the individual is primarily conforming to the organization and learning how to be successsful. The second stage is reformation. This happens after the individual gains credibility in the organization. The individual is then able to act [illegible] the organization to make changes deemed necessary. Finally, there develops a balance, integration, between the organization acting on the individual and the individual acting on the organization. This is a period of relative satisfaction that lasts until something happens to change the balance. At that time the individual may begin the cycle again or return to any of the other stages, as the two-way arrows in the model illustrate. Tiedeman and O'Hara also described the process by which an individual progressed through the stages. The core of their formulation was that an individual developed an ego identity through the processes of differentiation and integration.

Differentiation is the process of differentiating oneself from the environment, that is, observing different outcomes of one's own behavior and that of others. This process goes on continuously as individuals interact with the environment and observe the consequences. This information is then integrated into the ego identity. That is, new information that results from interaction of the person and the environment is constantly being incorporated into and changing the ego identity.

More recently Tiedeman and Miller-Tiedeman (1984) defined a two-dimensional model that further amplifies the anticipation phase of the original model. This model is based on the idea that how an individual views decision making is a function of how far the individual has advanced in his or her career. An important way of measuring this advancement in the career process is the language individuals use to describe their careers.

They defined two perspectives from which individuals describe their careers—personal reality and common reality. Common reality is a notion similar to societal, parental, or other external expectations: "They" expect me (all men) to be able to support a family. Personal reality is what feels "right" or good to the individual, irrespective of outside expectations. It is similar to the notion of internal locus of control. Recognizing and acting on one's personal reality is the goal of interventions based on the Tiedemans' model.

Another idea important to the recent work of David and Anna Tiedeman is "life as career" (1983). That is, the notion that each individual's life is his or her career, that individuals make choices about how they will create or "construct" their careers (or spend their lives); and that the goal for the individual is to integrate all aspects of life by becoming empowered to act on his or her personal reality.

CAREER ADJUSTMENT CONTENT THEORY

Much work that is not usually noticed by counselors has been done in the area of work adjustment and job satisfaction. Work adjustment has been defined as success (or "satisfactoriness") and satisfaction on the job. Success is typically operationally defined by longevity on the job and by supervisory ratings. Satisfaction is typically measured by asking the individual whether he or she is satisited on the job.

A key factor in work adjustment is the match between the expectations of the organization and the expectations of the employee. Davis, England, and Lofquist (1964) developed a number of propositions in their theory of work adjustment. Their basic points are:

1. Work adjustment is composed of satisfactoriness and satisfaction.
2. Satisfactoriness is determined by the relationship of the individual's abilities and the requirements of the work place, assuming the individual's needs are being met by the organization's reward system.

3. Satisfaction is determined by how well the reward system of the organization meets the individual's needs, assuming the individual's skills meet the organization's requirements.
4. Satisfaction and satisfactoriness have moderating effects on each other.
5. Tenure is a function of satisfactoriness and satisfaction.
6. The fit between the individual (needs and skills) and the environment (requirements and rewards) increases as a function of tenure.

More recently, the fit between organizational and individual expectations has been specified as important in the process of the individual joining the organization. This is sometimes called the "psychological contract" (Argyris, 1960; Levenson, 1962).

Berlew and Hall (1966) and later Kotter (1980) developed two sets of dimensions on which individuals and organizations have expectations. The first dimension is composed of areas in which individuals have expectations of receiving and organizations have expectations of giving. These areas are:

1. a sense of meaning or purpose in the job;
2. personal development opportunities;
3. the amount of interesting work that stimulates curiosity and induces excitement;
4. the challenge in the work;
5. the power and responsibility in the job;
6. recognition and approval for good work;
7. the status and prestige in the job;
8. the friendliness of the people, the congeniality of the work group;
9. salary;
10. the amount of structure in the environment (general practices, discipline, regimentation);
11. the amount of security in the job;
12. advancement opportunities; and
13. the amount and frequency of feedback and evaluation. (Morgan, 1980, p. 65)

Areas in which organizations have expectations of receiving and individuals of giving are:

1. performing nonsocial job-related tasks requiring some degree of technical knowledge and skill;
2. learning the various aspects of a position while on the job;
3. discovering new methods of performing tasks; solving novel problems;
4. presenting a point of view effectively and convincingly;
5. working productively with groups of people;
6. making well-organized, clear presentations both orally and in writing;
7. supervising and directing the work of others;
8. making responsible decisions well without assistance from others;
9. planning and organizing work efforts for oneself or others;
10. utilizing time and energy for the benefit of the company;

11. accepting company demands that conflict with personal prerogatives;
12. maintaining social relationships with other members of the company outside of work;
13. conforming to the folkways of the organization or work group on the job in areas not directly related to job performance;
14. pursuing further education on personal time;
15. maintaining a good public image of the company;
16. taking on company values and goals as one's own; and
17. seeing what should or must be done and initiating appropriate activity. (Morgan, 1980, p. 65)

The clearer both parties are about expectations in each of these areas the easier it is to make appropriate judgments about individuals joining organizations. Unclear expectations or a change from either the individual or the organization without a comparable change in the other can upset the balance and cause dissatisfaction and unsatisfactoriness. A check on the expectations on these dimensions can be of great assistance in problem identification when counseling dissatisfied workers.

INTEGRATION AND IMPLICATIONS

By combining elements of all these theories, a number of statements can be made that are useful to counselors who seek to develop interventions for adults.

1. Individuals regard their careers differently and emit different career-related behaviors at different times in their lives.

2. Choices of occupational field and specific jobs at specific times are influenced by and can be predicted from certain individual characteristics. These characteristics include intelligence and achievement; special skills and talents; ability to relate to people; individual needs, values, and goals; and personality type.
3. Choices of occupational field and specific jobs are also influenced by factors external to the individual. These factors include the reinforcement received from parental and career-related activities, community influence, family requirements and values, the economic and social condition of the society, opportunities for learning, availability of information, and historical events.
4. The process of making choices about occupational fields or specific jobs follows the general pattern of exploration, crystallization, choice, and clarification.
5. The process of making adjustments to those choices follows the general pattern of induction, reformation, and integration—or balance between the needs of the individual and the needs of the organization.
6. Adjustment to the consequences of occupational or specific job choices depends on factors in the work environment and on characteristics of the individual. The most powerful of these factors is the magnitude of the discrepancy between what the individual

expects to find in terms of requirements and rewards and what the environment provides in those areas.

7. Satisfaction and success in an occupational field or in a specific job depends on the person-environment fit. That is, individuals must be able to express their values and interests and play roles and perform activities that they deem appropriate for themselves.
8. Satisfaction in a specific job comes from receiving feedback on successful performance of tasks or activities the individual considers important.
9. The individual's occupational career is very much a part of the individual's life career. The interactions of occupational and family life cycles, life style, leisure and other issues cannot be separated. They must be considered together in career planning.
10. Individuals can be assisted in making choices and planning their careers by helping them understand their own characteristics as described in item 2 above, by helping them understand the work environment and other external forces described in item 3 above, by providing access to information and appropriate training, and by assisting in the consideration of the impact of occupational and job choices on other aspects of their lives.
11. The goals of career counseling are:
    - to enable clients to have sufficient information about their own characteristics, about training, assistance, and other resources available; about occupations and their characteristics; and about how to use that information in decision making; and
    - to enable them to view themselves as having the ability to make their own choices and to act on their "personal reality."

CONCLUSION

This discussion has viewed career theories in light of their contribution to the current state of knowledge of career development and behavior. An attempt has been made to identify areas of overlap and areas in which each theory makes unique contributions. A model for organizing current knowledge was presented and explained. A summary of current knowledge and its implications was described.

It is hoped that this model will be useful in applying these theories to facilitate the career development of adults.

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CHAPTER 3

Adult Learning: A Brief Overview

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John Naisbitt, in his book *Megatrends* (1982), estimates that scientific and technological information doubles every 22 months. Consequently, lifelong learning has become a survival skill.

Research in three areas is beginning to help us better understand this survival skill: how the human mind functions, how learning is processed, and, specifically, how *adults* learn.

What follows is a brief overview of some research in each of these areas and some thoughts about how these findings can be helpful to learners, educators of adults, and facilitators in the career development of others.

THE HUMAN BRAIN: WHAT WE ARE DISCOVERING

Although we shudder about the amount and complexity of what we need to know, we can take comfort in the growing knowledge of how the human brain works. Over the past 2 decades we have learned more about the human brain than we had discovered throughout our entire human history.

Moreover, knowledge in this area is growing exponentially. For example, Ferguson (1980) reported that some 500,000 articles a year appear on some aspect of brain functioning. Convergent efforts widen our perspective and increase our knowledge. Scientists and scholars in such varied fields as chemistry, biology, physics, philosophy, and psychiatry focus on brain functions and beget whole new fields of study, neurophysiology and neuroimmunology among them. Advances in computer technology bolster these explorations, and the push to develop artificial intelligence illuminates the workings of human intelligence.

As a result of these scientific efforts, we have an expanded view of human capabilities and development. The knowledge of how the brain functions and how information is processed and stored is rapidly expanding.

Brain physiology. Our brains are composed of cells called neurons that interconnect with one another electrically to carry out the functions of our bodies and minds. Bloom, Lazerson, and Hofstadter (1985) estimated that we have 50 billion neurons and that an individual neuron may transmit a message to as many as 1,000 or more neurons.

We are born with a full complement of these neurons and do not gain additional ones over our lifetime. We are discovering, however, that the nervous system is involved in a great deal of continuous growth. The brain of a newborn infant is about 25% of its adult size. The size of the neurons in the brain and the complexity of neural connections and networks develop as one grows and interacts.

Thus, physiologically we are far more dynamic and open to change and growth than we have ever believed. Moreover, because the brain is continually growing we have every reason to believe that changes in behavior and new learning are possible throughout life.

One way to describe how the brain works is to examine the various functioning parts, each part's role, and their interrelationships among each other. Two major functioning areas can be discussed: the left and right hemispheres of the neocortex and their distinctive functions, and the layered brain, composed of the reticular activating system, the limbic system, and the neocortex. We will look at each of these areas in turn.

Left brain—right brain. The concept of left-right neocortical separation surfaced briefly in the 19th century but was not studied seriously until 1967 with Roger Sperry's work with split-brain patients (Restak, 1979). Although we do not yet have a definitive picture of all of the details of the specialization of left and right brains, we do have scientific evidence that the specialization exists (Restak, 1979; Bloom, Lazerson, Hofstadter, 1985). The research indicates that in most people the left hemisphere functions in an analytical, sequential, problem-solving mode, and the right in an intuitive, visual/spatial, patterning mode. In some left-handed people, this process is reversed.

Moreover, some people, either through preference or because of established biological pathways, try to use one hemisphere to perform tasks that are more appropriately carried out by the opposite hemisphere. For example, many researchers associate dyslexia with a right-brain dominance: the dyslexic person is using the right hemisphere to master a task that is more appropriate to the left hemisphere.

The triune brain. Paul MacLean (Restak, 1979) views the brain as three separate biological computers, all functioning at the same time, all perceiving the same data from separate realities. According to MacLean, the innermost part of the brain, the reticular activating system or reptilian complex, evolved first and performs functions similar to reptilian brains. This part of the brain is responsible for alertness, wakefulness, and survival-oriented behavior. It is the seat of self-preservation and is concerned with aggression, territoriality, and unthinking action.

The next brain layer, the limbic system or mammalian brain—is thought by MacLean to have evolved later. This brain layer is concerned with species survival: love, bonding, communality, and emotions.

To the neocortex, the most recently developed brain, MacLean attributes abstract thought, language, calculation, and creativity. The neocortex separates us from the mammals and is the seat of brain activity that allows us to think abstractly and anticipate the future.

This view of a human brain both simplifies our understanding of how the brain functions and complicates analysis. For example, MacLean finds that all three systems are involved with the function of memory (Springer & Caldwell, 1982). Stimulus response memory resides in the reptilian complex, memories of feelings in the limbic system, and memories of thought in the neocortex.

Looked at together, the left-brain/right-brain view and MacLean's triune brain concept give a holistic view of the brain's structure. This conceptual framework is still an incompleted outline that future researchers will need to flesh out. Intriguing questions remain. For example, both Restak (1979) and Springer and Caldwell (1982) postulated that neural connections between the limbic system and the right hemisphere are stronger than those between the limbic system and the left hemisphere. Is this so? What does it mean? Springer (1982) suggested that one implication is that a person dealing with feelings (limbic system) could move to analytical thought (left brain) through concentrating on a picture (right brain).

An expanding view of human capability. Brain researchers now believe that our brain is more dynamic and fluid than was previously thought. Moreover we are also discovering that we can consciously control human activities that were once considered involuntary.

Equally exciting are developments in the field of biofeedback that show that we have far more ability to self-regulate the processes we once thought were beyond conscious control (Green & Green, 1977; Restak, 1979). Green and Green, for example, cited cases where patients learned to regulate their own blood pressure—to reduce it to avoid hypertension and to increase it to combat Raynaud's disease, whose victims suffer from chronically poor circulation. Restak described experiments at the Department of Neurology at Bellevue Hospital where 75% of the stroke patients involved in a biofeedback experiment were again able to control their paralyzed limbs. By using biofeedback teaching machines, the patients were able to observe a pattern that indicated how a functioning limb worked; by thinking about it (later) they were able to transfer that process to the nonfunctioning limb.

We can expect that future research will help us learn more about the way the mind controls behavior and about how we can direct our pattern of behavior.

Assessing learning styles. A number of instruments designed to indicate individuals' preferences in processing information have resulted from brain research. For example, these instruments measure whether a person prefers to process information simultaneously (right brain) or serially (left brain).

Hermann (1981) assessed the balance of preference for processing information between four quadrants. He used left-brain research and the concept of the triune brain in developing his concept of quadrants. A high score in the cerebral left quadrant indicates a preference for analytical, logical thinking; a high score in the limbic left quadrant represents preferences for organized and structured processing. The limbic right quadrant is the area involving emotions and hunches; the cerebral right, of patterned simultaneous thinking.

Taggart and Torrance (1984) used a different model, which looks at preferences for left- or right-brain activity, and for mixed unclear dominance or integrated dominance.

Bernice McCarthy's synthesis showed connections between different theorists (1980). Her model juxtaposes left-brain/right-brain theory on a view of learning styles previously developed by Kolb.

Each of these instruments, only a few of those that are available, provides us with a glimpse of how we prefer to process information. As such these instruments provide useful starting points for understanding ourselves as learners.

Implications of brain research on learning recovery. Brain/mind research is still in its infancy. We can expect new information over the next few years. Even now, however, we can arrive at the following conclusions, which we may consider in shaping our own assumptions of ourselves and of our clients and work mates:

- Physiologically and psychologically, we are developing, evolving creatures with tremendous potential for change throughout our lives.
- We can influence our behavior more than we had previously supposed.
- The different hemispheres of our brains do have different functions, and to the extent that we rely on using one hemisphere over the other, we will process situations differently. Learning style assessments can provide "snapshots" of those preferences.
- Conflicting goals, emotions, and perceptions are likely to have a physiological basis as well as a psychological one. Moreover, our knowledge of this can be used to understand experience and plot the future.

LEARNING AS A PROCESS

A corollary to the growing body of mind/brain research is an increasing investigation into the process of learning itself. This investigation blends the conceptual approach of such thinkers as Robert Smith (1982) with experimental research into how the mind works. Questions addressed have included the following: How does the mind process information? Store data? Retrieve it? What are the "best" strategies for organizing data and learning and remembering it?

Out of this inquiry has come valuable information about what any learner can do to maximize the results of a learning situation. Sherman (1984) organized these learner-controlled activities into three process stages that he calls preparation, information processing, and follow up.

Preparation. The purpose of this initial phase is to prepare the mind to receive information. The learner asks (and answers) such questions as: How much do I know? Why should I know it? What must I learn? And how should I learn? This phase provides the learner with a focus.

The process helps the learner select learning objectives and study strategies and also provides benchmarks for assessing growth. Helpful skills include survey and goal setting skills.

Information gathering. During this phase a learner acquires new information or abilities. The skills used here are: rereading, generating questions, restating, asking and answering questions, summarizing, notetaking, and building concept networks and outlines. Additionally, learners benefit from their intention to make changes and from making the information gathered their own by writing it down and by acting on it. During the learning process, learners add to what they already know by filling out their existing conceptual framework.

Follow-up. The follow-up phase helps learners to pin *down their* learning, to assess whether or not change has occurred, as well as to determine what to do next. Learners can follow up by creating written summaries and overviews, discussing new knowledge with others, developing study guides for testing like situations, relating new learning to their experience, and applying what they've learned in a variety of ways.

This three-phase process helps learners not only learn, but sets the stage for the transfer of what they've learned to their work or their personal lives. In Arthur Young's programs, for example, participants are asked to establish their learning goals at the beginning of seminars (Morris, 1984). Seminars generally conclude with participants drawing up action plans for using or strengthening what they've learned.

Implications of the learning process in helping others to learn. Understanding the process of learning and recognizing the importance of the preparation and follow-up stages helps you design learning experiences or assist clients to identify their learning needs. Here are two situations where you may find these techniques useful:

- Use the three-step process in programs you design—even in small 1- to 2-hour sessions. Giving participants time to identify their own goals and to plan follow-up activities will help them get the most out of the experience.
- Use the process to help clients understand how they learn new skills and new goals.

ADULTS AS LEARNERS:
THE ANDROGOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Adult learning theory as a separate body of inquiry from the process of learning in general has focused on the question: How do *adults* learn? Two of the major modern contributors to the field have been Malcolm Knowles and Robert Smith. Malcolm Knowles (1984) pointed out that the earliest approaches to adult learning theory come to us from ancient times, when learning was considered the business of adults not of children, and the learning process was one of active inquiry. For example the Chinese and Hebrews used what we now call the case method to study parables and the ancient Greeks used the Socratic method of dialogue in exploring questions in their study groups.

Only later did the focus of learning turn to transmitting basic skills and knowledge to children. The concept of teacher and *teaching* evolved to meet the special needs inherent in teaching children. Teaching became what we now call *pedagogy* from the Greek words *paid* (child) and *agogos* (leader of). This model of learning places the responsibility for determining what should be learned and how it shall be learned on the teacher. The student assumes a far more passive role than is true for the adult learner. Pedagogy has been the basic approach to teaching, not only in elementary and secondary schools, but also in universities and other centers of adult education. Most of us are products of this educational design.

The term *androgogy* was coined in Europe during the 1950s to differentiate adult learning from pedagogy. *Androgogy* is derived from the Greek *anere* (adult) and *agogos* (lead). Malcolm Knowles (1980) introduced the concept to the United States, and it has since become a central philosophy of American adult education. The key tenets of androgogy include the following: Learners are self-directed, proceed from a base of previous experience, are interested primarily in solving problems, and have "teachable moments"—finite periods of time during which they are most ready to learn.

Self-directedness. As children we are more dependent on families and teachers for direction. However, as we grow and mature, we make more decisions for ourselves. As adult learners we are more likely to focus on what serves our needs; we decide what we do and do not want to learn. Moreover, we want to know why and how what we're learning is important.

Previous experience. As we grow older, we grow in experience. The myriad of experiences we've had serve as a framework into which we fit current learning and future growth. When we make the link between new information and what we already know, we learn anew. Moreover, our past successes or failures tint our attitudes positively or negatively toward learning itself or toward specific types of learning activities.

Problem solving. As adults actively engaged in the world around us, we have an orientation to learning that is life-centered, task-centered, or problem-centered. Merely acquiring new information takes a back seat to problem solving. It is no longer enough to learn about something. We want to know how we can apply it.

Moments of learning readiness. Adults, like children, go through phases of development. These phases are related to the roles adults play in life—as workers or parents, for example. As we pass through these phases, we focus our attention on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that we need in order to carry out these roles.

These four tenets of adult learning theory lead to some conclusions about adult learning experiences that we can use to both design learning activities for adults and to assess programs we recommend to adults.

- Adult learning activities should place the *learner* rather than the teacher in the key role of decision maker, or at least provide for joint decision making.
- The techniques used should include such experimental activities as discussion, problem-solving cases, simulation, and field experiences.
- Programs should be focused on meeting real life needs or organized around developing competencies, and should be sequenced according to the learner's readiness to learn.

These tenets of adult learning can also provide perspective on our strategies for counseling adults as they plan career changes. We might ask ourselves the following:

- Are we helping people identify the new or expanded competencies they need to carry out new or changing roles?
- Are our questions and processes designed to assist adults to direct their own learning?
- Are we helping adults define what it is they need to know?
- Do we help adults view career change as a learning process rather than an event?

CONCLUSION

Career planning is a learning process. Consequently some highlights of mind/brain research, of the process of learning, and of adult learning have been explored. It is hoped that these ideas will stimulate more in-depth investigation. For in today's world, how we learn, and learning to learn, have become lifelong survival skills.

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SECTION II:

STRATEGIES AND METHODS

A VARIETY OF APPROACHES . . .

CHAPTER 4

The Adult Career Program Developer as Learner

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Successful program development in adult career development settings requires a person with the following qualities:

40% willingness to learn
10% commitment
10% expertise
10% courage
10% emotional endurance
10% pragmatism
10% sense of humor

In short, program developers are, first and foremost, learners. Program development is an experiential learning process in which program developers discover how to provide the most relevant services to both program users and sponsors. The program is the product of this learning process.

"Experts" do not make good program developers because experts feel they have the answers to clients' problems and needs. Good program developers never assume they know the answers. However, they do know questions—questions that will help them learn what is appropriate to meet clients' needs.

MODEL OF ADULT CAREER PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

There are five basic questions that the program developer—as learner—must answer. These are:

- What needs to be done?
- What is possible?
- What is realistic?
- What steps need to be taken?
- What needs to be retained/what needs to be changed?

These questions form the basis for the five-stage model of adult career program development described in this chapter. Table 1 outlines the model.

This model incorporates Kolb's learning style concepts (Kolb & Plovnick, 1977; Kolb, 1984). Kolb conceives of learning as a four-stage cycle. Experience serves as the basis for observation and reflection; observations serve as the basis for theory formation; and finally, theories provide input for decision making and problem solving. The model also incorporates principles of effective career development systems (Leibowitz, Farren, & Kaye, 1985).

Elaboration of each program development stage will be organized around the following questions:

1. What is the learning objective for the program developer at this stage?
2. What program development activity will lead to this learning?
3. What learning behaviors are the most useful at this stage?
4. What role do potential program users and program sponsors play in the process?
5. If effective learning takes place, what is the desired end result at this stage?
6. What are the practical issues and implications that need to be considered at this stage of program development?

The final section of the chapter will examine how the inherent strengths and weaknesses of characteristic individual learning styles of program developers can affect the program development process.

STAGE I: DATA GATHERING

Description

The primary learning objective of Stage I is to find an answer to the question, "What needs to be done?" In other words, "What do the people you wish to serve by the program need?" In addition, "What do the sponsors of the program need from the program?" Answers to these questions are usually provided by carrying out a needs assessment. Needs assessments can range from highly sophisticated survey techniques to structured interviews, even to include informal hallway chats. Regardless of technique, all are data generating and data gathering procedures with the primary purpose to help the program developer become thoroughly acquainted with the environment and people who potentially may be served by the program. Needs assessments also serve to provide involvement and commitment of the people who will subsequently be served by the program.

Table 1
Stages of Program Development

Program Development Stage	*Learning Objective*	*Program Development Activity*	*Learning Style*	*User/ Sponsor Role*	*Desired End Result*
Stage I Data Gathering	What needs to be done?	Needs assessment	Divergent	Resource	Needs database
Stage II Conceptualization	What is possible?	Visioning/ model building	Assimilative	Translator	Theoretical program model
Stage III Design	What is realistic?	Strategy design	Convergent	Reality check	Program strategy
Stage IV Implementation	What steps need to be taken?	Logistical action planning	Accommodative	Catalyst	Logistical action plan
Stage V Evaluation/ Redesign	What needs to be retained; what needs to be changed?	Evaluation-based redesign	Assimilative; all styles	Source of feedback	Ideas for improvement

Kolb's *divergent* learning style includes the key behaviors that program developers use in Stage I. According to Kolb, divergent learning requires an openness to concrete experience and reflective observation of that experience. In program development, there has to be some method of generating data from concrete experience, and observing and recording that data. Any interaction with a potential client population or program sponsor provides the potential for generation of needs data. Consequently, it is pretty difficult to make mistakes in this phase of program development unless isolation from the people the program is supposed to serve takes place. However, mistakes can be made in the second aspect of divergent learning. Time is often not taken to think about what is heard or experienced, thus preventing the data from sinking in as a learning experience.

The program developer cannot successfully meet the learning objective of this stage without assistance. There must be involvement of potential program users and sponsors. Both are *data resources*. Potential users are the foremost experts in terms of their own needs. In addition, sponsors can identify what they will need to realize in order to justify supporting the program.

As an end result of this stage the program developer has a substantive database from which to visualize a program. Good program developers may not always have answers, but the right questions asked in this phase will provide a sound program start.

Issues, Implications, and Other Assorted Practical Tips

- There is no best method of data generation and gathering. Sometimes data generated in a friendly chat over a cup of coffee can be as valid and reliable as those produced by the most rigorous scientific methods. Never underestimate the power of good communication skills.
- Combining several assessment methods—if possible—is usually more useful than emphasizing one. Surveys, interviews, observations, and direct experience all have their strengths and problems.
- When does one stop gathering data and move on to the next stage? Move on when you feel you can do a fair job of walking in the users' and sponsors' shoes.
- Use conceptual tools to raise hypotheses, then use concrete data to validate/invalidate these hypotheses. Holland's personality environmental types (Holland, 1973), Deal and Kennedy's organizational cultures (Deal & Kennedy, 1982), Super's developmental tasks (Super, Crites, Hummel, Moser, Overstreet & Warnath, 1957), Dalton, Thompson and Price's career stages (Dalton, Thompson, & Price, 1977), and Crites's model of career maturity (Crites, 1973) are examples of practical models that can be quite useful at this stage if used as a source of questions rather than definitive answers.
- Identify problems of the program sponsor that may be solved by the program. What will the sponsor get out of the program—*both now and in the future*? There are few totally altruistic program sponsors.
- Identify potential obstacles and resources, which can take the form of people or things.

- Balance the energy and resources committed to data collection with those expended for the entire program. Don't spend 90% of your time and money on Stage I, with only 10% to allocate to subsequent steps.
- One never feels one has enough data. Do the best you can in the amount of time you have and move on to the next stage. The entire program development process will generate data. The stages of program development are not mutually exclusive.

STAGE II: CONCEPTUALIZATION

Description

The primary learning objective of Stage II is to conceptualize an answer to the question, "What is possible?" In other words, "What programmatic options can I visualize that would address the needs of both program users and sponsors?" The program development activities of this stage involve visioning and model building. Visioning involves that difficult-to-describe, creative, cognitive activity that has been called "forming a dream" (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). It is not totally fantasy-based because the stimulus for visioning is data-based. The reality data that were collected in Stage I provide the context for a vision. Model building gives form and substance to the vision. Model building goes one step beyond visioning and translates that vision into a concrete, tangible, theoretical blueprint. Visioning and model building involve a complementary melding of creativity and logic.

Kolb's *assimilative* learning style incorporates the primary behaviors that program developers use in Stage II. According to Kolb, assimilative learning requires reflective observation and abstract conceptualization. In Stage II of program development, the creative activity of visioning or dreaming is given form by the logical theorizing of model building. A good program developer at this stage utilizes two very different but complementary types of behavior. Visioning is not limited by the restrictiveness of logic. However, logic provides an element of discipline to creativity.

The activities of Stage II are primarily the responsibility of the program developer. Certain creative individuals from among potential program users and sponsors may be useful to this stage, but the program developer should be very selective. Many program users and sponsors are too close to reality to be helpful at this stage. They will "yes, but" every creative idea to death! Where assistance can be rendered is in the latter phases of Stage II when the theoretical program model must be translated into language that is readily understood in the environment in which the program will be implemented. What is acceptable is often merely a matter of semantics. One of the authors, who had to implement a career development program in an organization composed largely of career plateaued employees in the latter stages of their careers, was able to gain acceptance of the program by changing the name of the program from career development to career assistance. What was different? The difference was semantics. Career "development" in that environment meant vertical mobility, which was viewed—correctly—as unrealistic. "Assistance" had no restrictive connotations and consequently allowed for the consideration of various other career options such as job enrichment and lateral mobility.

As a product of Stage II the program developer will have a theoretical program model. This structure will be the foundation and underpinnings from which numerous program strategies can emanate in the next stage of program development.

Issues, Implications, and Other Assorted Practical Tips

- McCaskey's concept of directional planning (McCaskey, 1977) provides some useful concepts for the visioning and model building of Stage II. McCaskey contends that planning in an ambiguous environment largely involves defining a direction and a domain. Some questions to consider, based on this model, include:
  - —What is your vision of the possible objectives the program may address? (direction) What are the "must's" the program has to address and the "never's" of which the program should steer clear? (domain)
  - —In your program model, what is its primary mission? (direction) What are the primary program functions and the interrelationships of those functions? (domain)
- What is needed is not always popular nor readily accepted by program users or program sponsors. Program credibility must first be established. In such cases, the program developer is best advised *to formalize what is desired* and *subtly incorporate what is needed*.
- If you expect support, do not speak in foreign tongues. Translate your program model into language that users and sponsors can understand.

STAGE III: DESIGN

Description

The primary learning objective of Stage III for the program developer is to answer the question, "What is realistic?" In other words, "What program approaches have the highest likelihood of success given the environment in which the program must be implemented?" Also, "What program strategies will have the highest benefit-to-cost ratio?" The program development activity that characterizes this stage is strategy design. Whereas Stage I and Stage II provided a data-based conceptual design, Stage III defines what is going to be done. Strategy design involves more than just the definition of activities. It also includes definition of how those activities will fit together and in what sequence in order to translate the theoretical model into concrete action.

Kolb's *convergent* learning style characterizes the primary behaviors that program developers use in Stage III. According to Kolb, convergent learning requires abstract conceptualization and active experimentation. The task involves translating a theoretical model into behavioral strategies. Program strategies translate ideas into action. It is at this stage that logic must pass the first reality test.

Potential users of the program and program sponsors are very important to the program development process at this stage. It is they who can best judge if the program strategy is realistic. They are the experts as to what strategies are likely to work in the program environment because they *are* the program environment. Many conceptually sound program strategies have gone down the tubes because naive program developers did not test the degree of sensitivity and receptivity of potential program users and sponsors. Being right is not enough to guarantee success in the program development world!

At the completion of Stage III, the program developer will have a bridge between theory and practice, the end product being a program strategy. That strategy defines the "what" and "how" of the program.

Issues, Implications, and Other Assorted Practical Tips

- In strategy design, never lose sight of your long-term vision, but be sure to build in short-term, tangible results for both program participants and sponsors.
- Use a conceptual model as a guide for both overall strategy design and that all important component—evaluation design. A good example of such a model is Crites's model of career maturity (Crites, 1973).
- Codesign with those who will pass judgment upon the program. The program developer cannot afford to be the Lone Ranger. Even he had Tonto!
- If you want success, the benefits had better outweigh the costs, and the resources outweigh the obstacles.
- Start small with a pilot that has strong support and a high probability of success. First efforts form lasting impressions.
- Build in a follow-up for each program activity to reinforce results and assess whether those results were utilized in the "real" world.

STAGE IV: IMPLEMENTATION

Description

The primary learning objective of Stage IV is to answer the question, "What steps need to be taken?" Previous stages defined what was desirable, what was possible, and what was realistic. Those stages are considered by most program developers as the exciting, "fun" stages of program development. Stage IV involves the unglamorous—but very important—logistical nuts and bolts of bringing a program into reality. The program development activity involved in this stage is logistical action planning. There needs to be a concrete, detailed game plan that spells "who needs to do what, by when" to ensure that the program content and strategy will be implemented in an effective and efficient manner.

The major tasks involved in this stage, which should be incorporated into the logistical game plan, are as follows:

- publicizing and "marketing" the program activities;
- involving key players;
- collecting and publicizing endorsements from credible supporters and sponsors;
- identifying and negotiating environmental politics and sensitivities;
- identifying and negotiating potential obstacles and impediments;
- identifying or developing necessary resources;
- budgeting and staffing;
- identifying and selecting participants;
- Providing effective physical setting and facilities;
- scheduling;
- contingency planning;
- preparing evaluation tools;
- Defining a "step-by-step who does what by when;" and
- considering a million other things one does not think of until the last minute!

Kolb's *accommodative learning* style includes important behaviors utilized at this stage. According to Kolb (1984), accommodative learning requires a "doer" orientation. This type of learning requires active experimentation and concrete experience. The focus of both of these types of behaviors emphasizes action that will "get things done."

The activities of Stage IV can utilize the help of potential program users and sponsors as catalysts. It is they who are most knowledgeable of how to get things done in the program environment. There is no substitute for experience with and knowledge of the unique, idiocentric characteristics of program environments. Negotiating or getting around "the system" is no easy task. In this stage of program development, the old adage "It's who you know that counts," holds much truth.

The primary end product of this stage is a logistical action plan. This action plan is the cookbook for implementing the program activities and strategies. It is highly recommended that this cookbook be in written form, particularly if a sizeable team of people are involved in program implementation.

Issues, Implications, and Other Assorted Practical Tips

- Ensure visible endorsement of those who have credibility and influence.
- Involve key players—particularly those who sit in judgment of the program.
- The activities of this stage can be frustrating, time consuming, and boring. However, these activities have to be done. Much of the shoddiness in program development can be attributed to underemphasizing or taking for granted the tasks of Stage IV.
- "When in doubt, leave it out," does not apply to this stage.
- What works in one place will not necessarily work in another.
- You will need your sense of humor to meet the challenges and frustrations of Stage IV.

STAGE V: EVALUATION REDESIGN

Description

The primary learning objective of Stage V is to find answers to the questions "What needs to be changed?" and "What should be retained?" Implicit in these questions is the need to redesign the program to improve future efforts. However, redesign must be based on program outcomes as measured by a thorough analysis of the program's evaluation data. Program development, in the truest sense of the term, builds and improves upon what is accomplished. The program development activity that serves as the basis for developmental changes is program evaluation.

The reflective observation and the abstract conceptualization skills of Kolb's *assimilative learning* style will come in handy in the analysis and interpretation of evaluation data in Stage V. The results of these analyses will dictate what stages of the program development process need to be reexamined and modified. Ideally, the overall program development process should be recycled because the stages of the program development model are not mutually exclusive. A change in meeting the objectives of one stage may very well affect the other stages.

The program is not an end in itself. It must provide results for both program users and sponsors. Both users and sponsors serve as important sources of feedback in the program evaluation. Perhaps one of the most important uses of evaluation data is their use as stimuli for discussion with program users and sponsors. They play an important role in determining whether the outcomes of the programs are significant in meeting their needs. It is important that the program developer identify the outcomes of greatest interest to all key players. What is important to program users may not be the most important to program sponsors. Also, outcomes that may intrigue the program developer may get the dreaded "So what?" response from program users and sponsors. Also, sound program evaluation should be considered from the beginning. Potential measures and outcomes should be clearly tied to the objectives and activities of the program that we've established in earlier stages.

The end result of Stage V should be ideas for improving the program. Consequently, program evaluation is both an ending and a beginning of a learning process for the program developer. The program developer who ceases to learn has stopped practicing the craft of program development.

Issues, Implications, and Other Assorted Practical Tips

- Evaluation design involves definition of "*who* needs *what* kind of data by *when*?"
- Use multiple program strategies and multiple evaluation methods. It is better to overkill than to strike out.
- Recycle the wheel. Do not remake it.
- Give evaluation feedback to those who need it—whether they ask for it or not!

- Celebrate/publicize accomplishments.
- There is no such thing as too much follow-up.
- Evolutions are easier than revolutions. Did your program try to take small steps or giant leaps?
- Never take personal credit for program successes. Give the credit to those who helped you.
- Failures are opportunities to learn, not license for self-abuse.

THE IMPACT OF PROGRAM DEVELOPERS' INDIVIDUAL LEARNING STYLES ON THE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

KOLB'S EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING THEORY

Kolb and Plovnick (1977; Kolb, 1984) conceived learning as a four-stage cycle. Experience is the basis for reflective thought. Reflections are organized into hypotheses, theories, and concepts. These hypotheses are then tested in reality, the end result being a new set of experiences from which to recycle the learning process. Implicit in this cycle are four types of learning behaviors:

Concrete experience (CE): The ability to involve oneself without bias in new experiences.

Reflective observation (RO): The ability to observe and reflect upon experiences from multiple perspectives.

Abstract conceptualization (AC): The ability to integrate observations into logical theories.

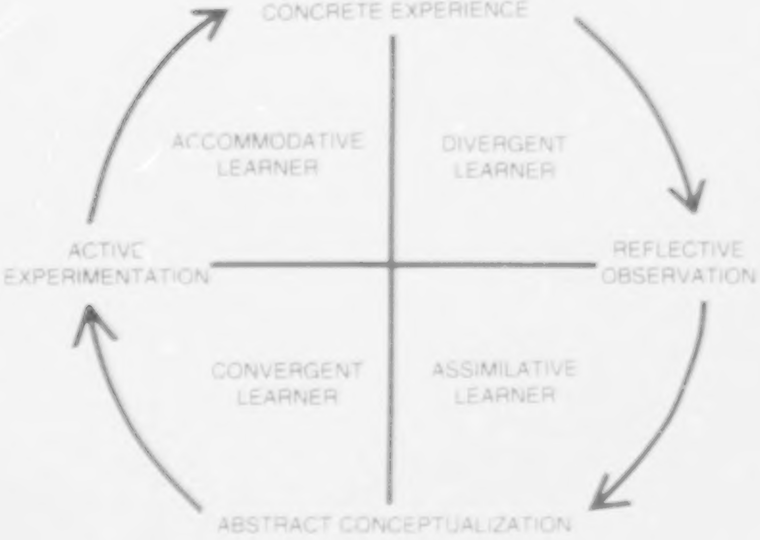
Active experimentation (AE): The ability to use theories to make decisions and solve problems.

Kolb contends the learning cycle is made up of two polar dimensions: concrete experience versus abstract conceptualization and reflective observation versus active experimentation (see diagonals of Figure 1). Although all four sets of behaviors are viewed as necessary to learning, one cannot easily experience (CE) and conceptualize (AC) simultaneously, nor can one act (AE) and reflect (RO) at the same time. One gets in the way of the others.

Kolb further contends that due to hereditary and environmental influences, people tend to develop learning styles that emphasize some learning behaviors over others. His reasearch has identified four statistically prevalent learning styles: divergent, assimilative, convergent, and accommodative. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between learning styles and learning behaviors. Each style tends to emphasize two of the four types of learning behaviors. Diagonal styles tend to emphasize very different learning behaviors, whereas adjacent styles hold one type of learning behavior in common.

Figure 1

Correspondence of Learning Behaviors and Learning Styles. Adapted from "The Experiential Learning Theory of Career Development" (p. 65–87) *by D.A. Kolb and M.S. Plovnick. In J. Van Maanen (Ed.), Organizational Careers: Some New Perspectives, 1977. New York: Wiley. Copyright 1977 by John Wiley & Sons. Adapted by permission.*

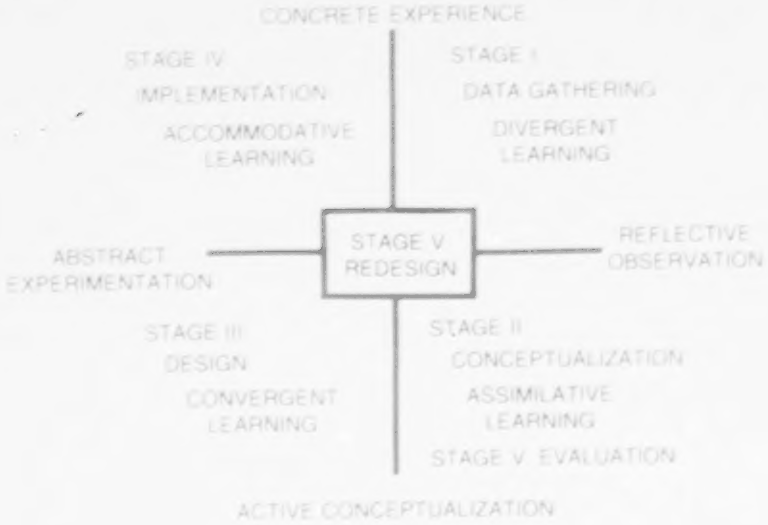

CONCRETE EXPERIENCE
ACCOMMODATIVE LEARNER
DIVERGENT LEARNER
ACTIVE EXPERIMENTATION
REFLECTIVE OBSERVATION
CONVERGENT LEARNER
ASSIMILATIVE LEARNER
ABSTRACT CONCEPTUALIZATION

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

It is the thesis of this chapter that program development is a learning process, and, to be effective, the program developer must utilize learning abilities. The first four stages of the program development process outlined in this chapter roughly correspond to Kolb's Experiential Learning Model (see Figure 2). Data-gathering (Stage I) relies on the experiential and observational abilities of divergent learning. The visioning and model building of Stage II rely on the conceptual abilities of assimilative learning. The development of a program strategy that is central to Stage III of the program development process relies heavily on the ability to apply theoretical ideas, which is characteristic of convergent learning. The implementation requirements of Stage IV rely on the "how to do" abilities of accommodative learning. Stage V utilizes the analytical abilities of assimilative learning in the evaluation phase of that stage, but subsequent redesign of the program recycles both the program development and learning process. In sum, different stages of the program development process utilize different abilities at different times.

Figure 2

Correspondence of Program Development Stages and Learning Styles


CONCRETE EXPERIENCE
STAGE IV
IMPLEMENTATION
ACCOMMODATIVE LEARNING
STAGE I
DATA GATHERING
DIVERGENT LEARNING
ABSTRACT EXPERIMENTATION
STAGE V REDESIGN
REFLECTIVE OBSERVATION
STAGE III
DESIGN
CONVERGENT LEARNING
STAGE II
CONCEPTUALIZATION
ASSIMILATIVE LEARNING
STAGE V EVALUATION
ACTIVE CONCEPTUALIZATION

Kolb contends that different people tend to prefer and emphasize different learning styles. Few, if any, are strong in all of the learning styles. Consequently, every program developer brings a unique set of strengths and weaknesses to the program development process. Unfortunately, the tendency is to overemphasize the learning style with which we are most comfortable and "force fit" it on all of the program development stages. Any learning style applied at an inappropriate time can be a liability. For example, the pragmatic, reality-based emphasis of the convergent and accommodative learning styles can be too conservative and restrictive for the creative objectives of Stage I and Stage II. On the other hand, the idealism and creativity of the divergent learning style and the highly rational orientation of the assimilative style can be unrealistic when confronted with the political realities of Stages III and IV.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Now for a rude awakening. In the wonderful world of program development, one must accept the fact that the job is bigger than the person. We all have our deficiencies! Consequently, here are are some "words to the wise:"

- Program Developer, know thyself.
- Program Developer, monitor your behavior. Does your behavior reflect what is needed or what you like to do?
- Do what you do best. Use others to do those things you cannot do.

- Force yourself to develop adequate skills in all program development areas. Become excellent in areas that are your strengths.
- Ideally, program development is a team effort and should encompass a team of people with differing but complementary skills.
- Move on or step aside when someone else can better serve the program. Beware of ownership.
- When you move, be prepared to grieve. Letting go is not always easy.

SUMMARY

This chapter has described a five-stage model for the development of adult career programs based on an experiential learning theory. The stages focus on learning the answers to five basic program development questions:

- What needs to be done?
- What is possible?
- What is realistic?
- What steps need to be taken?
- What needs to be retained, and what needs to be changed?

Program development is a process. The questions are permanent; the answers are temporary. The need to learn never ceases.

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CHAPTER 5

Appraising Adults' Career Capabilities: Ability, Interest, and Personality

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In his Model of Career Maturity, Crites (1978, p. 4) made the distinction between career choice *content* and career choice *process* in decision making:

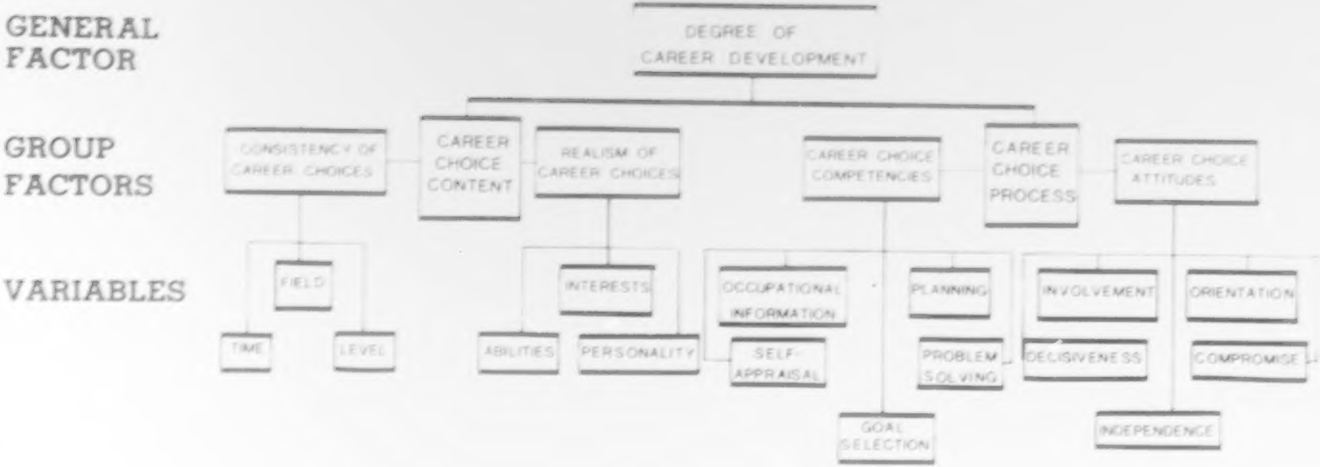
> The former encompasses the Consistency of Career Choices and Realism of Career Choices factors in the model (Figure 1). To operationally define these dimensions it is necessary to elicit a career choice from an individual. A question like, "Which occupation do you intend to enter when you have completed your schooling or training" (Crites, 1969, p. 139) is asked, and, if the individual has made a choice, an occupational title, *e.g.*, machinist, copywriter, or dancer, is given in response. This is career choice *content*. In contrast, career choice *process* refers to the variables involved in arriving at a declaration of career choice content. These variables include the group factors of Career Choice Competencies and Career Choice Attitudes in the model of career maturity.

A recent chapter on "Instruments for Assessing Career Development" (Crites, 1984), in the third NVGA commemorative volume, *Designing Careers* (Gysbers, 1984), reviewed contemporary measures of career choice process, such as Crites' (1978) *Career Maturity Inventory* and the Career Pattern Study's (Thompson, Lindeman, Super, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981, 1982) *Career Development Inventory*. This chapter describes and discusses some of the tests and inventories available to appraise adults' capabilities (both intellective and nonintellective) for career choice content.

With the increased focus upon *adult* career development during the past decade, well exemplified by this book devoted entirely to the topic, more and more career counselors and career development specialists, particularly in business and community organizations, find themselves confronted with the task of assisting adults in appraising their career capabilities—their abilities, interests, and personality characteristics. Yet, many of these professionals are either unaware of what standardized

Figure 1

A Model of Career Maturity in Adolescence and Adulthood


GENERAL FACTOR
DEGREE OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT
GROUP FACTORS
CONSISTENCY OF CAREER CHOICES
CAREER CHOICE CONTENT
REALISM OF CAREER CHOICES
CAREER CHOICE COMPETENCIES
CAREER CHOICE PROCESS
CAREER CHOICE ATTITUDES
VARIABLES
FIELD
TIME
LEVEL
INTERESTS
ABILITIES
PERSONALITY
OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION
SELF-APPRAISAL
GOAL SELECTION
PLANNING
PROBLEM SOLVING
INVOLVEMENT
ORIENTATION
DECISIVENESS
COMPROMISE
INDEPENDENCE

measures exist for adult career appraisal, and use none, or they construct homemade surveys and questionnaires (e.g., self-reported skills) that have unknown or uncertain reliability and validity. That there is a need for a review of appropriate tests and inventories for career counseling and group work with adults seems apparent. To identify these assessment instruments, a search was first made for all the measures listed in *TESTS* (Sweetland & Keyser, 1983) that were applicable to adults. Then, the number of references for each of these cited in Buros's (1978) *Eighth Mental Measurement Yearbook* was calculated. Of these, the most extensively researched instruments were selected for review, the assumption being that they would have sufficiently well-documented psychometric characteristics to be useful in career counseling and career development programs.

In addition to these well-established tests and inventories, other less studied but promising instruments are mentioned, the expectation being that users will assess their usefulness for their particular situations (see Sweetland & Keyser, 1983). Certain constraints have been imposed on the selection of the adult appraisal instruments included in this review, however, that are judgmental, in terms of the pragmatics of career counseling practice (Crites, 1981). Experience indicates that some are better than others. This review and critical analysis is, therefore, a *synthesis* of scientific findings on appraisal instruments for adult career capabilities (career choice content) *and* informed experience with them. Ability tests, including measures of general intelligence, as well as achievement and aptitudes (multifactor), are presented first and are followed by a discussion of vocational interest inventories, with a final section on personality measures. The chapter concludes with presentation of a microcomputer systems approach for appraising adult career capabilities, which has been used extensively in organizational "in-house" career development programs, Private Industry Council (PIC) programs for the unemployed, and outplacement career counseling for released workers.

ABILITY TESTS

There are certain desiderata that ability tests, including general intelligence, achievement, reading, and aptitude, should have for the appraisal of adult career capabilities. Foremost among these is that the test be a *power* measure, that is, *untimed*, because adults beyond ages 25–30 have a decrement in performance under speeded conditions (Super & Crites, 1962). In addition, particularly for intelligence and aptitude tests, they should have evidenced vocational validity, that is, be predictive of occupational level or occupational aptitude patterns (OAPs). Two other, but different, parameters are whether both (a) verbal and nonverbal and (b) group and individual tests are available. Given these specifications, only a few ability tests can be recommmended for the appraisal of adult career capabilities. These are classified in Table 1, and then are reviewed in the following discussion.

Table 1

Classification of Recommended Adult Ability Measures by Desiderata

	General Intelligence	*Achievement*	*Reading*	*Specific Aptitudes*
Power	OSPE Wonderlic Beta II	ABLE		
Speeded	Wonderlic Wesman	TABE WRAT	Iowa Nelson Denny	GATB EAS
Paper and Pencil	OSPE		Iowa Nelson Denny	GATB EAS
Individually Administered	WAIS-R			
Verbal	OSPE Wonderlic Wesman WAIS-R		Iowa Nelson Denny	(Perf.) GATB EAS
Nonverbal	Beta II WAIS-R (Perf.)			GATB (Perf.)

Intelligence Tests

No one test of general intelligence has all the characteristics desired in such measures for appraising the intellectual functioning of adults. If there is sufficient administration time and a qualified examiner available, then the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scales—Revised (WAIS-R) has much to recommend it, particularly its extensive age norms, which allow the comparison of an adult's score with those of peers (Matarazzo, 1972). It has only modest vocational validity (Super & Crites, 1962), but can yield a good estimate of an adult's probable level of occupational attainment, which corresponds generally to the levels axis in Roe's occupational classification system (Roe, 1956), as well as the DOT ratings of general ability given in Holland's *Dictionary* (Gottfredson, Holland, & Ogawa, 1984). Another possible test of "g" is the Wonderlic Personnel Test, which is a group paper-and-pencil instrument that can be given under either timed (12 minutes) or untimed conditions. It has had extensive use and validation in employee selection situations, as has the Wesman Personnel Selection Test, a timed (28 minutes) paper and pencil measure of the verbal and numerical components in general intelligence. The Ohio State Psychological Examination can also be used with adults, under untimed directions, but appropriate norms for older (than college) age individuals are lacking. Finally, for an excellent untimed, nonverbal assessment of intelligence, the Revised Army Beta Examination (Beta II) is the choice, having been restandardized for adults in 1974.

Achievement Tests

Although achievement tests are usually associated with school assessment programs, their use with adults has increased in recent years with the introduction of career development workshops in business/industrial organizations and the establishment of Private Industry Council programs for the unemployed. There is often a need to assess level of educational development, particularly with the latter group, to determine whether remedial basic education is indicated before proceeding with job search. TESTS and Buros's MMYB cite three measures of adult achievement: Adult Basic Learning Examination (ABLE), Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE), and the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT). Of these, ABLE has the best-established psychometric properties. It appraises vocabulary, reading comprehension, spelling, arithmetic computation, and problem solving skills at three different levels: grades 1 to 6, grades 3 to 9, and grades 9 to 12. A short screening test, called SelectAble (sic), is used to determine which level of testing is appropriate. Tests at Levels I and II take 2 hours, whereas Level III requires 3 hours and 25 minutes to administer. Norms expressed as percentile ranks and stanines are reported for all levels. The TABE also includes tests of vocabulary, mathematics, and language at different levels, but the highest is grade 9, although no norms are reported for adults. It is simply an edited version of the 1970 California Achievement Tests (CAT), which were developed for the elementary and secondary school population. The TABE, therefore, is not really a measure of *adult* achievement. The WRAT offers the advantage of measuring many of the same variables, but expresses scores in age, rather than grade equivalents, which is obviously much more appropriate for adults (cf. WAIS-R).

Reading Tests

If in addition to the reading subtests of achievement batteries a more comprehensive appraisal is needed, probably the best available reading test for adults, of which there are few, is the Iowa Silent Reading Tests (ISRT). The Buros's (1978, p. 1197) review by Filby concludes that the 1973 edition is "the product of a careful, long-term developmental effort. It contains interesting subtests, with a variety of scoring options. It is well packaged and presented. The Guide for Interpretation and Use is a model of thoroughness and clarity." The subtests measure vocabulary, comprehension, directed reading (work-study skills), and reading efficiency (rate with comprehension), although directed reading is not included for Level III, which is appropriate for adults. Contrary to the recommended uses of the subtests, Hakstian (Buros, 1978, p. 1198) concludes from a review of subtest intercorrelations that the ISRT is *not* multifactorial: "Quite clearly, one and only *one* common factor accounts for the [above] correlations. For this reason, it is difficult to envision the ISRT—or its competitors—as having much *diagnostic* utility" (italics in original). This conclusion must be qualified for several reasons, as far as adults are concerned. First, the data were on seventh graders; second, most factor analytic methods yield only one principal factor; and, third, for adults as compared with seventh graders, developmental age may make the subtests more independent statistically. Certainly, with an individual client, given *reliable* difference scores among subtests, they *may* have diagnostic significance. The only other alternative is the Nelson-Denny Reading Test, which has had a hallowed history, with its comprehension, vocabulary, and reading rate subtests, but again the question is raised: How *independent* are they? Both the ISRT and the Nelson-Denny are timed, which may be an exogenous variable accounting for the well-established high correlations between rate and comprehension. Perhaps someone will construct a reading test for adults that is untimed—why is *time* per se so important? It is the time one puts into reading, not reading time (rate), that seems to make the difference in learning.

Aptitude Tests

Clearly, the best documented and most widely applicable aptitude tests for adults are in the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB). Not only were they developed on and for adults (Super & Crites, 1962), but they have an extensive "Occupational Aptitude Pattern" (OAP) database, which 2 years ago was extended to 12,000 occupations by Hunter (1983), using the new techniques of validity generalization. There are now 66 OAPs that encompass most of the distinct occupations in the world of work (Droege & Padgett, 1979), and Crites (1984) (see below) has designed a microcomputer system that prints out on a programmed interpretative form (the Career Decision Maker) all the OAPs a person is qualified for in less than 1 minute—no more visual or graphic profile comparisons necessary by the career counselor. There is a major drawback with the GATB, however, because it is tightly controlled by local employment services and can be administered only by them or certificated examiners. As a result, this highly developed instrument is also highly restricted in its availability. Fortunately, there is an equally useful alternate, although it does not include performance tests as the GATB does. The Employee Aptitude Survey (EAS) is a battery of 10 short but reliable and valid tests of such variables as verbal reasoning, numerical ability, spatial visualization, and visual speed and accuracy. The occupational norms are broadly based but not to the extent of the GATB. In developing the Career Decision Maker, however, which also includes a ranking of expressed interests, Crites (1984) equated the EAS to the GATB, with the exception of the latter's performance measures, so that the OAP database can be used with both batteries. Thus, the EAS, supplemented with performance tests such as the Purdue Pegboard and the Purdue Mechanical Adaptability Test, as needed, gives the career specialist a viable option to the GATB.

VOCATIONAL INTERESTS

In the discussion that follows, the focus is upon vocational interests, both expressed and inventoried, but measures of work needs and job satisfaction are also reviewed. For a comprehensive appraisal of adult career capabilities, it is often useful to assess needs that are satisfied in the work environment, as well as vocational interests.

Expressed Interests

For many years simply asking a person what they were interested in, such as "Which occupation(s) do you plan to enter when you have completed your education or training" (Crites, 1969), was considered unreliable and, therefore, invalid for predicting the eventual occupation engaged in (e.g., Berdie, 1950; Darley & Hagenah, 1955; Super & Crites, 1962). Since the late 1960s, however, when Holland and Lutz (1968) compared expressed interests with the Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI), regard for the predictive validity of expressed interests has increased greatly. The Holland and Lutz study indicated a much higher "hit rate" for expressed interests than the VPI against a common criterion of career choice 8 months later. With an interval of 3 years, Borgen and Seling (1978) essentially replicated this finding using the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). And, in a review of relevant research on the comparative predictive validity of expressed and inventoried interests, Dolliver (1969, pp. 103–104) concluded:

> The predictive validity of expressed interests is at least as great as the predictive validity of SVIB. In no study where direct comparison was made (Dyer, 1939; Enright & Pinneau, 1955; McArthur & Stevens, 1955) was the SVIB as accurate as the expressed interests in predicting occupation engaged in. . . . There is no evidence to show that the SVIB is superior to expressed interests.

The implication of these results and conclusions certainly is that expressed interests should be elicited in any thorough appraisal of adult career capabilities and that they should be given at least as much weight as inventoried interests.

Inventoried Interests

The question immediately arises, then, why administer interest inventories, given that expressed interests are more predictive? There are at least two answers to this question. First, some individuals want to take an interest inventory to confirm (or reality test) their expressed interests. When inventoried and expressed interests are the same, their combined predictive efficiency is considerably greater than that of either separately, but when they differ, expressed interests are, of course, the better predictor in most cases (Borgen & Seling, 1978). Second, about 20–25% of adults in the career decision-making process are undecided and therefore have no expressed interests. For these individuals, interest inventories serve the very worthwhile purpose of stimulating them to explore areas of interest similarity.

At the professional, semiprofessional, and managerial white collar occupational levels, the most widely used interest inventory is the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII), but the Kuder Occupational Interest Survey (KOIS) is also highly recommended. Interpretation of the SCII is sometimes complicated by the percentages of Likes, Indifferences, and Dislikes in response to it, particularly if the latter is high, because the General Occupational Theme and Basic Interest Scales are scored +1 for Likes and −1 for Dislikes. A strong Dislike response tendency produces, therefore, low scores on these scales, but also high scores on some occupational scales such as Mathematician that are keyed to a high percentage of Dislikes (the so-called "doubting" attitude of the scientist). The SCII also poses problems in the interpretation of cognate male-female scales when an individual scores higher on the opposite sex scale (Crites, 1978). The KOIS, on the other hand, avoids this difficulty because of its different construction (occupation vs. occupation as compared with occupation vs. in-general groups), but it is often awkward to explain Lambda scores to clients without a lengthy explanation that interferes with the test interpretation process (Crites, 1982).

At the nonprofessional occupational levels, the best available measure is the Career Assessment Inventory (CAI), which is formatted after the SCII but with occupations largely within the semiskilled range. Some of the same problems in interpretation occur with it as with the SCII, particularly if response percentages are extreme. At the lower levels in the occupational hierarchy, there has been no inventory that is directly applicable to unskilled and some semiskilled jobs. As Strong (1943) pointed out many years ago and Darley and Hagenah (1955) reiterated, *vocational* interests at these levels are largely undifferentiable. Rather, it is preference for different work environments or job conditions that is important to individuals. Crites (in process) is currently constructing an inventory of these preferences that assesses such dimensions as indoor-outdoor, clean-dirty, and noisy-quiet. This type of interest inventory has particular potential usefulness with unskilled and unemployed adults.

Work Needs

The extensive and long-term research of the Work Adjustment Project at the University of Minnesota, under the leadership of Dawis & Lofquist (1984), has produced several instruments to measure the variables in their "Theory of Work Adjustment," not the least of which is the Minnesota Importance Questionnaire. It measures 20 needs, which are grouped into six general categories of work values: Achievement, Comfort, Status, Altruism, Safety, Autonomy. Also listed with each need are the corresponding "Work-Related Reinforcers" that satisfy them on the job. The rationale for the MIQ is that individuals gain greater job satisfaction, and ultimately accrue greater tenure, if their needs are fulfilled by the appropriate occupational reinforcer patterns (ORPs). The MIQ profile indicates high and low needs that are interpreted according to these patterns. Reliability and validity data on the MIQ are limited but encouraging. The MIQ's careful development and theoretical significance certainly justify its widespread use in appraising the career capabilities of adults.

Job Satisfaction

There are two major measures of job satisfaction: the Hoppock Job Satisfaction Blank (JSB) Form 5, and the Job Descriptive Index (JDI). The first of these, the JSB, provides a *global* assessment of job satisfaction, based upon the individual's overall "hedonic tone" toward work (Crites, 1969). Four 7-point scale items ask workers how much they like their jobs, whether they want to change their work, and so forth. The total score is an expression of job satisfaction in relation to dissatisfaction. In contrast, the JDI uses the *summative* method to elicit satisfaction with five different facets of the work situation: (1) work on present job, (2) present pay, (3) opportunities for promotion, (4) supervision on present job, and (5) people on your present job. The assumption is that a worker can be differentially satisfied with these various components of the work environment, but provision is also made with the JDI for summing the part scores to obtain a total job satisfaction score, which correlates highly with the JSB.

PERSONALITY INVENTORIES

Unlike ability tests and vocational interest measures, the items of which directly sample the context of the world-of-work, personality inventories come from a different tradition. There is no available inventory of *work* personality. Rather, there are several instruments, constructed for other purposes, that have been applied to the assessment of personality in the work environment. Their validity for the appraisal of the adult work personality, therefore, is indirect at best. But, some of them have demonstrated usefulness for career counseling and career workshops with adults, and they are reviewed and critically evaluated here. There are four personality inventories that have been sufficiently researched for career purposes to include in this discussion: (1) the California Psychological Inventory, (2) the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, (3) the Myers-

Briggs Type Indicator, and (4) the Sixteen Personality Factor Inventory (16 PF).

California Personality Inventory (CPI)

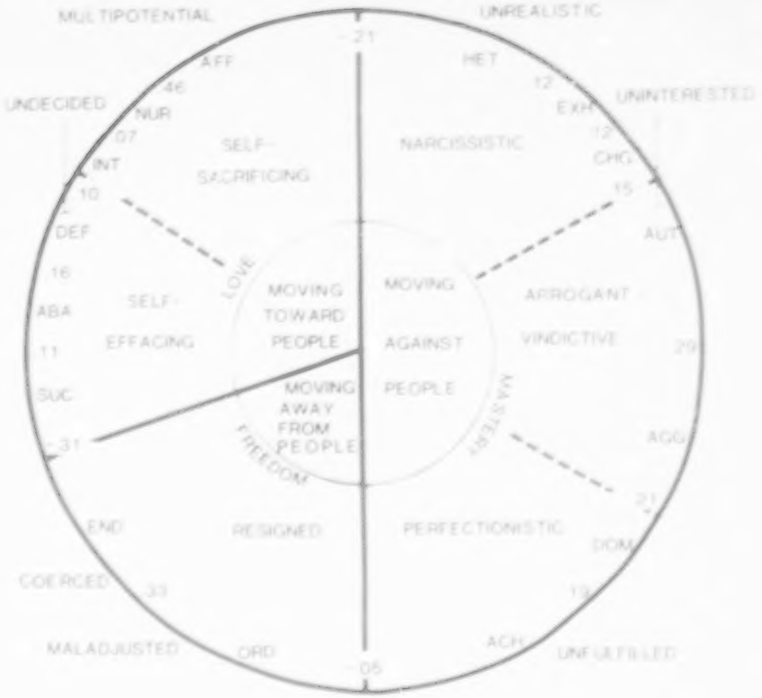
Of the personality measures available for assessing adult personality, the CPI is probably the most appropriate and the most extensively researched. Known as the "normal" MMPI, it includes 200 items from the latter, but they (along with the remainder in the item pool) were standardized and validated to measure "folk concepts" of personality, such as dominance (Do) and good impression (Gi). These dimensions of the normal personality that factor analysis indicates are the principal ones (Crites, Bechtoldt, Goodstein, & Heilbrun, 1961) focus upon how individuals deal with interpersonal relations, a behavioral domain that is critical to adult career adjustment. The findings of many studies (Crites, 1969, 1982) establish that more employees lose their jobs because of problems in interpersonal relations than for any other reason. In other words, coping with others on-the-job (superiors, subordinates, co-workers) is more important in career success than competence for job performance, at least above a minimal level. The CPI offers an objective measurement of interpersonal areas that might directly impinge upon job adjustment. Low scores on CPI scales in both "Class I. Measures of Poise, Ascendancy, Self-Assurance, and Interpersonal Adequacy" and "Class II. Measures of Socialization, Responsibility, Intrapersonal Values, and Character" are often diagnostic of potential difficulties in human relations at the workplace. Two-scale analyses of these measures have also been related to discriminating self-descriptive adjectives, and means and standard deviations for various occupational groups are given in the *Manual* (1975).

Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS)

In contrast to the CPI, the EPPS was constructed to measure variables from an explicit personality theory—Murray's (1938) system of needs. The 15 need scales of the EPPS (e.g., Autonomy, Dominance, Order, etc.) are not organized, however, into a readily interpretable conceptual schema. To provide such a framework, Crites (1981) arranged the needs into a circumplex that defines Horney's (1945) major orientations in interpersonal relations: (a) moving toward people, (b) moving against people, and (c) moving away from people. Used with these constructs, the EPPS gains increased diagnostic significance for identifying possible human relations problems of adult workers. There is growing evidence, for example, that employees frequently lose their jobs more because they are nonassertive than because they are aggressive. In the circumplex (Figure 2) the EPPS Abasement and Deference scales define a self-effacing personality that may experience interpersonal problems on-the-job because of nonassertiveness and an indiscriminate tendency to move toward people. Other configurations of scores identify orientations that are likely to create different job adjustment problems. In interpreting these patterns, it is important to remember that the EPPS is ipsative, in other words, has a "forced-choice" response format, and consequently only high and

Figure 2

EPPS Circumplex for Appraisal of Work-Related Interpersonal Orientations. From Career Counseiing: Models, Methods, and Materials (p. 100) *by J.O. Crites, 1981. New York: McGraw-Hill. Copyright 1981 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. Reprinted by permission.*


MULTIPOTENTIAL
UNREALISTIC
UNDECIDED
UNINTERESTED
COERCED
MALADJUSTED
UNFULFILLED
-21
AFF
46
NUR
07
INT
10
DEF
16
ABA
11
SUC
-31
END
33
ORD
-05
ACH
19
DOM
21
AGG
29
AUT
15
CHG
12
EXH
12
HET
SELF-SACRIFICING
NARCISSISTIC
SELF-EFFACING
ARROGANT VINDICTIVE
RESIGNED
PERFECTIONISTIC
LOVE
MASTERY
FREEDOM
MOVING TOWARD PEOPLE
MOVING AGAINST PEOPLE
MOVING AWAY FROM PEOPLE

low scores *within* the individual should be reported. Normative interpretations are not appropriate.

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)

During the past decade, after a 20-year hiatus, interest in the MBTI, concurrent with a revival of Jungian psychology, has increased, and there is accruing research on it, as well as new applications in business and industry (Hirsch, 1984). The MBTI was originally designed to operationally define the major constructs in Jung's theory of personality. It yields scores on four bipolar dimensions representing these variables: (1) Extraversion-Introversion; (2) Thinking-Feeling; (3) Intuition-Sensing; and, (4) Judgment-Perception. From combinations of scores on these basic personality orientations, types are derived that indicate the individual's dominant modes of interacting with the world. These divisions are relevant to the work environment and suggest how an adult worker might best fit into a compatible occupational role (Hirsch, 1984). To use the MBTI for the appraisal of adult career capabilities, however, it is essential to have a thorough understanding of the Jungian concepts it measures, because its usefulness is largely "clinical," although there are studies of it for different occupational groups. The Center for Applications of Psychological Type in Gainesville, Florida, offers the relevant training for professionals through a variety of seminars and workshops and also holds an annual national conference.

Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF)

This instrument is included here because it is widely known and has norms for over 50 occupational groups, as well as regression equations for predicting job performance criteria. The 16PF nevertheless has some serious shortcomings (Buros, 1978). First, despite its factorial construction, and its name, there is considerable disagreement from one study to another on exactly how many factors there are in the 16PF—some results indicate fewer, others more. Second, the factors measured by presumably equivalent forms have average intercorrelations of cognate scales only in the .50s—hardly support for equivalence. Third, the internal consistencies of the factor scores are also low, again averaging in the .50s. And, fourth, although there are numerous validity studies of the 16PF, there is no consistent pattern of results that support either its convergent or divergent validity. In conclusion, then, if the 16PF is used with adults, for whom extensive norms are available, caution should be exercised in making other than descriptive statements (i.e., this individual is high, average, or low on the several scales).

A MICROCOMPUTER SYSTEM FOR APPRAISING ADULTS' CAREER CAPABILITIES

With the advent of the microcomputer in recent years and its widespread availability to measurement and counseling professionals, unlimited possibilities have opened up for formulating a systems approach to educational and vocational assessment, both intellective and nonintellective. In the past, career counselors and personnel managers have had to rely upon largely subjective procedures for comparing an individual's test scores with profiles of traits required by occupations. With over 12,000 different occupations in the world-of-work, the best that could be done was to make general judgments about occupational "fitness." Usually, a visual comparison of the client's or employee's test scores with rationally derived occupational profiles, such as the Revised Minnesota Occupational Rating Scales and Worker Trait Requirements for 4,000 Jobs was made. Seldom was it possible to derive quantitative indices of similarity between person and position.

The microcomputer has made possible such quantitative comparisons, however, although it is far from having realized its full potential. One problem has been that most computerized test interpretations are printed out in lengthy, and often discursive, narratives. One interpretive printout for the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory actually runs 29 fanfold pages. Not only is it difficult to read, often being loaded with psychometric jargon, but it inhibits the test interpretation process, particularly in career counseling. Obviously, what is needed is a test report form that can be printed from the microcomputer and that can be easily interpreted, in either individual or group career counseling sessions. Another problem, even more critical for the efficacy of the interpretative process, is the passive-receptive mode of the narrative printouts. Much more desirable would be an active participative interaction between the individual and the test report. Such a mode should be based upon a programmed instructional design that involves the client in the test interpretation.

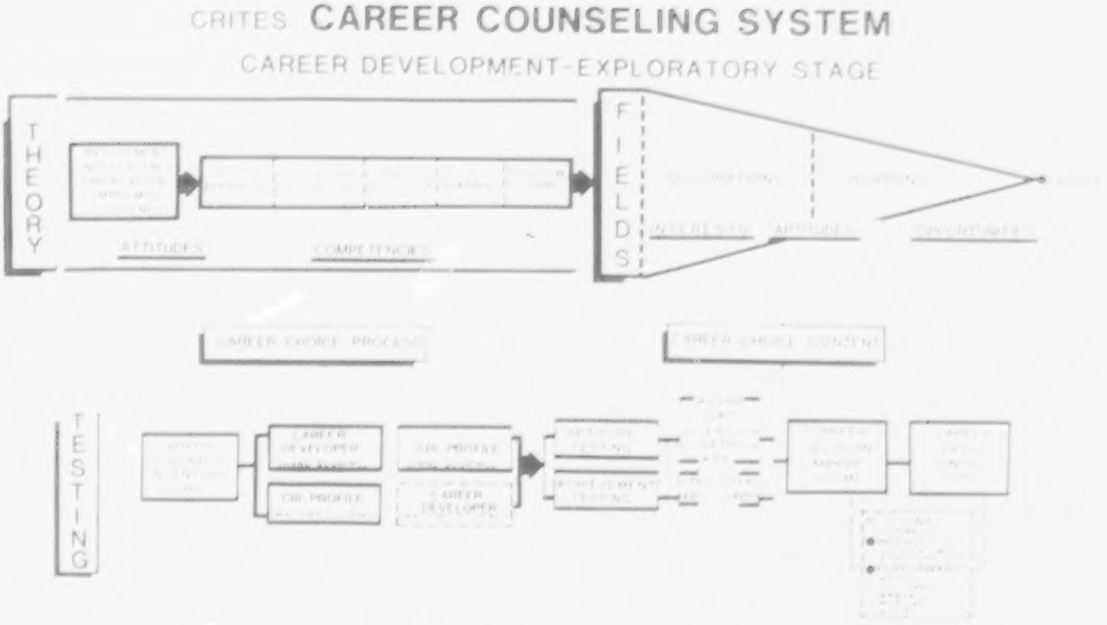
In response to what seems to be a clear need for a microcomputer system that interprets test results in a meaningful and interactive way, a model was formulated that not only addresses these problems but also relates the testing process to assessment and career development theory, which has also been lacking in most computerized approaches to test interpretation. Figure 3 graphically depicts a career counseling system designed to meet these specifications. It represents two parallel levels of discourse, "Theory" and "Testing," both of which are further delineated into "Career Choice Process" and "Career Choice Content." Although the former is not discussed in this chapter (see Crites, 1984, cited earlier), it is included for the sake of completeness to give a comprehensive overview of the entire theory and testing model.

On the Theory level, career choice process has been conceptualized as involving certain Attitudes and Competencies that must be sufficiently mature for an individual to make a realistic career choice (content). The attitudes of involvement, independence, orientation, compromise, and decisiveness are more connative or dispositional in nature, whereas the competencies of self-appraisal, occupational information, goal selection, planning, and problem solving are cognitive capabilities (Crites, 1978). On the Testing level, these career choice process variables have been measured by the Career Readiness Inventory (CRI), which is a wide-range measure (grades 9 to 12, adult) of attitudes and competencies derived from 25 years of research on the Career Maturity Inventory (CMI; Crites, 1978, 1984). The CRI can be either hand- or machine-scored, and profiled and interpreted with a self-administered booklet called the *Career Developer*, which is based upon programmed instructional principles. If scores are high enough (above statistically established cut-offs), the individual is presumably mature enough in career choice process to proceed to career choice content. If not, then further intervention (individual or group career guidance) is indicated.

On the Theory level, arriving at career choice content involves what has been termed the "exclusion process." Choices are progressively made from broad Fields through Occupations to eventually Positions by eliminating career options the individual dislikes. These negative decisions are based upon an appraisal of interests, aptitudes, opportunities, and a variety of other personal and environmental factors. On the Testing level, the individual takes achievement tests, multifactor aptitude batteries, interest inventories, and other measures to assess manual dex-

Figure 3

A Systems Approach to Career Counseling


CRITES CAREER COUNSELING SYSTEM
CAREER DEVELOPMENT-EXPLORATORY STAGE
THEORY
ATTITUDES
COMPETENCIES
FIELDS
OCCUPATIONS
INTERESTS
APTITUDES
OPPORTUNITIES
CAREER CHOICE PROCESS
CAREER CHOICE CONTENT
TESTING
CAREER DEVELOPER
CIR PROFILE
CIR PROFILE
CAREER DEVELOPER
APTITUDE TESTING
ACHIEVEMENT TESTING

terity and special talent (artistic and musical), if needed, to supplement the overall educational and vocational assessment procedure.

Protocols from these tests and measures are then processed on the microcomputer system, which consists of an NCS Sentry 3000 Scanner, an IBM PC/XT, and a compatible printer. Answer sheets are scanned by the Sentry 3000 and item responses fed into the IBM PC/XT for scoring. For the multifactor aptitude batteries, scores are compared with the extensive General Aptitude Test Battery database for Occupational Aptitude Patterns (OAPs), and those for which the individual is qualified are printed out on the Career Decision Maker (CDM). The CDM (Figure 4) is a programmed test interpretation form that takes the individual, step-by-step, through a survey of expressed ranked interests, using Holland's RIASEC taxonomy, aptitude score presentation in relation to Level of Educational Development, and a synthesis of choices, interests, general intelligence, and special aptitudes (OAPs) on the "Career Choice Chart."

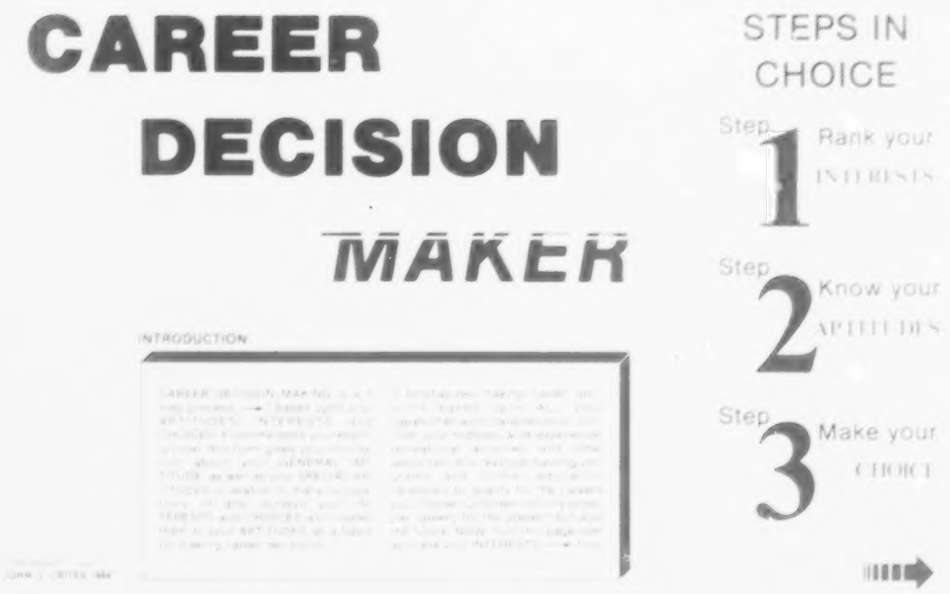
The chart is cross referenced to the *Guide for Occupational Exploration* (GOE), published by the United States Employment Service, and to the *Career Path Finder* (CPF), the last component in the system. The CPF lists occupations indexed in the GOE, classified by RIASEC category, and provides charts for planning education or training over a 5-year period for the individual's two most preferred career choices, taking into consideration interests, intelligence, special aptitudes, and other personal/social characteristics. Both the CDM and CPF have been used in individual and group career counseling with highly positive results. They are applicable to adults in organizational career development programs, outplacement workshops for dislocated workers, and employment services. Because of the systems approach used, implemented with the scanner-microcomputer-printer in-line processing, and the programmed instructional forms designed for active involvement and personal understanding, the delivery base for this career counseling model is extensive and comprehensive.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented a review of ability, interest, and personality appraisal instruments that may be used in the career counseling of adults. The instruments presented represent both an objective review of scientific findings and the subjective experience of the author with the instruments. The instruments discussed represent those which the author considers the most pragmatic for career counseling practice. Readers are encouraged to continue the ongoing critical search for the most useful and scientifically sound tools for their professional practice.

Figure 4

Career Decision Maker



CAREER

DECISION

MAKER

INTRODUCTION

STEPS IN CHOICE

Step 1 Rank your INTERESTS

Step 2 Know your APTITUDES

Step 3 Make your CHOICE

1 INTERESTS

[illegible]

R [illegible]

I [illegible]

A [illegible]

S [illegible]

E [illegible]

C [illegible]

INTEREST RANKINGS

[illegible]

R	I	A	S	E	C

Mark your interest rankings in the above boxes. • Press firmly to make a copy on the following page.

[illegible]

2 APTITUDES

The first step in making a career choice is assessing your aptitudes for further education, specific vocational preparation, and different occupations. Your aptitudes give you an estimate of what you CAN do. Reported below are combinations of your test scores (called composites) which can give you an idea of [illegible] what you might

[illegible]

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

[illegible]

GENERAL APTITUDE

T SCORE	[illegible]
LED LEVELS	1 2 3 4

4 [illegible]	[illegible]
3 College [illegible]	[illegible]
2 [illegible]	[illegible]
1 High School [illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

OCCUPATIONAL APTITUDE FACTORS

[illegible]

VERBAL	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
NUMERICAL	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
SPATIAL	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
CLERICAL	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
FORM PERCEPTION	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
MOTOR COORDINATION	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
FINGER DEXTERITY	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]
MANUAL DEXTERITY	[illegible]	T SCORE	[illegible]

[illegible]

YOUR CAREER CHOICES

[illegible]

[illegible]

3 CHOICE

CAREER CHOICE CHART

CAREER FIELDS: [illegible]

LED	CAREER LEVELS
4 [illegible]	[illegible]
3 [illegible]	[illegible]
2 [illegible]	[illegible]
1 [illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	REALISTIC	INVESTIGATIVE	ARTISTIC	SOCIAL	ENTERPRISING	CONVENTIONAL
[illegible]	R	I	A	S	E	C
[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]		

[illegible]

[illegible]

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CHAPTER 6

Counseling Adults for Career Change

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The purpose of this chapter is to explore counseling approaches for assisting adults in managing their career changes or transitions. Here, a general model of the helping process will be presented. Next, developing and utilizing coping skills will be discussed. Then, career development skills for negotiating career transitions will be delineated.

THE HELPING PROCESS

In order to discuss strategies for teaching coping skills to career changers, it is useful to review a general model of the helping process. This model is useful in many different counseling formats. The stages described are typical of the process, but they do not always occur in this exact sequence.

Building a Relationship

Initially, the goal of the counseling process is to form a positive relationship with the person seeking help. Because it is often difficult for adults to seek help, it is important to respect the courage and trust involved in asking for help. A counselor can encourage mutual trust and respect by being warm, empathetic, and genuine. Respect is also conveyed by careful listening, eye contact, speaking in the same language style as the other person, and allowing the expression of a wide range of affect and beliefs. Respect for the person is given when the counselor identifies, supports, and validates the efforts a client has made to solve his or her problems.

Identifying the Problem

The second stage of counseling involves identifying and clarifying the problem that the person experiences. In this stage, the counselor explores the presenting problem and seeks to learn the personalized meaning of the problem to the client. It is often useful to begin with a general question such as, "What brings you to counseling at this time?" If the person responds vaguely, it is helpful to ask whether there was a particular event that made the person decide to call to make a counseling appointment. Such events provide concrete experiences of frustration that can help clarify the present problem.

It is also helpful to learn about other aspects of the person's life. Learning about satisfactions and dissatisfactions in other life roles and about styles of coping with previous transitions can help the counselor and client explore the strengths and weaknesses in coping skills. This information is useful also in making a mutual assessment of whether this transition is primarily a career transition or reflects other developmental issues. The person and counselor can then discuss the appropriate counseling to be utilized (i.e., individual, group, marital, and family counseling) as well as the client's expectations.

Facilitating Change

The third stage of counseling involves facilitating change. In this stage the person can identify, develop, and utilize new types of coping skills. Some people benefit by learning general transition skills, whereas others need mostly career-related skills. These coping strategies are presented later in this chapter.

Terminating Counseling

The last stage of counseling is termination where accomplishments are summarized and future plans are formulated. The termination process can be phased out by less frequent meetings, and clients can be encouraged to make greater use of their own support systems. Groups often schedule follow-up meetings and may structure a "buddy system" of mutual support for a specified period of time.

DEVELOPING AND UTILIZING COPING SKILLS

The process of coping successfully with career transitions is facilitated by broad, flexible coping skills for managing life transitions. In this section various coping skills and strategies for assessing and teaching them will be described. It is important to match coping skills to the client's needs.

Basic Coping Skills for Managing Transitions

Although it is impossible to describe all forms of effective coping methods, some broad coping skills have been proposed that seem useful across a variety of transitions (Brammer & Abrego, 1981). The taxonomy listed in Table 1 can be useful in formulating therapeutic interventions and in designing groups for persons in transition. Certainly other types of useful coping skills have been mentioned; however, those listed in Table 1 are emphasized as particularly useful to people in career transitions.

Table 1

Level 1 Basic Coping Skills for Managing Transitions

1. **Skills in perceiving and responding to transitions.**
   - 1.1 The person mobilizes a personal style of responding to change. He or she—
     - 1.11 Accepts the proposition that problematic situations constitute a normal part of life and that it is possible to cope with most of these situations effectively. (Perceived control over one's life)
     - 1.12 Recognizes the importance of describing problematic situations accurately. (Problem definition)
     - 1.13 Recognizes the values and limitations of feelings as cues to evaluate a change event. (Feelings description)
     - 1.14 Inhibits the tendency either to act impulsively or to do nothing when confronted with a problematic situation. (Self-control)
   - 1.2 The person identifies his or her current coping style. (Style of responding to change)

2. **Skills for assessing, developing, and utilizing external support systems.**
   - 2.1 The person can assess an external support system. He or she can—
     - 2.11 Identify his or her emotional needs during times of transition.
     - 2.12 Identify people in his or her life who provide for personal needs.
     - 2.13 Describe a personal support network in terms of physical and emotional proximity.
   - 2.2 The person can develop a personal network. He or she can—
     - 2.21 Seek sources (groups, organizations, locales) of potential support persons.
     - 2.22 Apply social skills to cultivate persons to meet identified needs.
   - 2.3 The person can utilize an established support network. He or she can—
     - 2.31 Develop strategies for spending time with persons considered most helpful.
     - 2.32 Apply skills for utilizing persons in his or her network when a transition is anticipated or arrives.

Table 1 (Continued)

3. **Skills for assessing, developing, and utilizing internal support systems.**
   3.1 The person can assess the nature and strength of positive and negative self regarding attitudes. He or she can—
      3.11 Identify personal strengths.
      3.12 Identify negative self-descriptive statements as well as the assumptions and contextual cues which arouse such statements.
   3.2 The person can develop positive self regard attitudes. He or she can—
      3.21 Affirm personal strengths.
      3.22 Convert negative self descriptions into positive descriptive statements when the data and criteria so warrant.
   3.3 The person can utilize his or her internal support system in a transition. He or she can—
      3.31 Construe life transitions as personal growth opportunities.
      3.32 Identify tendencies to attribute personal deficiencies as causative factors in distressful transitions.

4. **Skills for reducing emotional and physiological distress. He or she is able to—**
   4.1 Practice self relaxation responses.
   4.2 Apply strategies to control over stimulation under stimulation.
   4.3 Express verbally feelings associated with his or her experience of transition.

5. **Skills for planning and implementing change.**
   5.1 The person can analyze discrepancies between existing and desired conditions.
   5.2 The person exercises positive planning for new options. To the best of his or her abilities, the person—
      5.21 Thoroughly canvasses a wide range of alternative courses of action.
      5.22 Surveys the full range of objectives to be fulfilled and the values implied by the choice.
      5.23 Carefully weighs whatever he or she knows about the cost and risk of negative consequences that could flow from each alternative.
      5.24 Searches intensely for information relevant to further evaluation of the alternatives.
      5.25 Utilizes feedback to reassess his or her preferred course of action.
      5.26 Reexamines the positive and negative consequences of all known alternatives.
      5.27 Makes detailed provisions for implementing or executing the chosen course of action including contingency plans.
   5.3 The person is able to implement successfully his or her plans. He or she can—

5.11 Identify stressful situations related to implementing goals.
5.12 Identify negative self-statements which interfere with implementing plans.
5.13 Utilize self-relaxation routines while anticipating the stressful implementation of plans.
5.14 Utilize self-rewards in goal attainment.
5.15 Identify additional skills needed to implement goals, e.g., anxiety management, training in assertiveness, overcoming shyness.

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Category 1. Skills in perceiving and responding to transitions. The first group of skills relates to a person's perceptions and responses to transitions. Perceptions toward change have an important relationship to how people interpret events. Two important perceptions are: (a) the acceptance of problematic situations as a normal part of living, and (b) a belief that each person has a variety of strengths that help him or her to cope with most of these situations effectively. When these beliefs are held, the individual gains an increased sense of self-control and self-esteem. Threats are no longer perceived as overwhelming.

These beliefs can be explored by discussing the person's reactions to previous life transitions. In this discussion, the counselor can validate the individual's strengths and coping skills. This is particularly important in situations where the career change is involuntary and people doubt their ability to cope with and survive the situation. They might also be asked to write an autobiography describing their life course with special emphasis on the coping skills that were helpful to them in the past. Sometimes information about developmental transitions as a normal part of life can also be useful. Readings such as *Seasons of a Man's Life* (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978), *Passages* (Sheehy, 1976) or *Transformations* (Gould, 1978) might be suggested and discussed.

Several other important skills are included in this first category. These skills relate to one's initial response to threat. They include describing threats accurately, recognizing the role of feelings in appraising a situation, and inhibiting both impulsiveness and passivity. These skills in responding to transitions allow individuals to gain awareness of how they think, feel, and behave when confronted with problematic situations. People's reactions are important clues about transitions that signal a need to heed other data from the environment. Inhibiting impulsiveness or passivity allows one time to appraise a problem situation accurately and to construct a proactive and reasoned coping response (Kahana & Kahana, 1976).

Sometimes a person considering career change will complain vaguely about his or her job. It is useful to help such a person describe the situation, using specific behavioral language such as: "When my supervisor criticizes me, he calls me 'slow' in front of my coworkers and I feel humiliated." It is often helpful for the person to keep a journal describing the emotional high and low situations on the job. This can be used to clarify complaints about one's job as well as to discover elements that might be desirable in a new job. Some people may have difficulty understanding their feelings and thus are unable to use their feelings as cues. Self-monitoring of feelings could be assigned during different times of the day and a list of feeling words provided as an aid to identifying possible feelings.

People can create metaphors to describe their complaints. For example, one woman stated that she was a "kaleidoscopic thinker in a telescopic job." She explained that she usually thinks about all the different facets of a problem but that her job requires her to focus her attentions on only one facet at a time. Inhibiting the tendency to act impulsively or passively is important. Sometimes people cope with developmental challenges by running away from them through changing careers. For instance, one man said that he found himself changing jobs whenever he was on the verge of becoming successful. He was afraid to face his fear of failure, because he knew that if he were given a challenging responsibility he might fail. Consequently, by changing jobs he failed to resolve his fear of failure and was left with a nagging ambivalence about success. Other people can become immobilized by transitions and become overly passive. A woman who was terminated became so anxious about seeking another job that she could not leave her house.

By discussing previous transitions, it is possible for a person to become aware of her or his general coping style. It is often useful to have people write an autobiography of their current career transitions, describing each transition in detail from the moment they became aware of it to their current situation, and then finishing the description with several possible endings. This can help them recognize coping skills that have been useful to them and may also instill a greater sense of having some choice about the eventual outcome. For example, a woman who considered leaving her job wrote one ending of a description in which she had a long discussion with her supervisor. The result was a restructuring of her work roles. In a second ending, she "networked" with professional colleagues and found a more suitable job with another organization. Her third ending involved changing her personal investment in her job. She imagined mentally letting go of some of the responsibilities that weighed her down with worry and then focused on enjoyment that came from several key aspects of her job.

Category 2: Skills for assessing, building, and utilizing external support systems. Individuals in transition often need extra sources of emotional support during times of change. Skills for developing and utilizing an external social support network involve identifying one's emotional needs and then seeking specific people to serve in one's support network. This search results in intentionally planning to spend time with people who provide support, or increasing the supportive quality of present relationships.

People often expect all of their support to come from a few people—typically a spouse or close friend of the family. Clients need to be urged to expand their social networks to include a variety of people, including some of Hopson's types (Hopson & Adams, 1977): (a) whom we can depend on in a crisis, (b) with whom to discuss concerns, (c) whom we can feel close to, (d) who can make us feel competent and valued, (e) who can give us important information, (f) who will challenge our stereotyped thinking, and (g) with whom we can share good news and feelings.

Counselors can help clients assess their support needs by asking them to list people in various categories, or to pictorially represent them, using a method described by Waters and Goodman (1981). Sometimes key support people such as family members can be included in the counseling. Individuals may be able to change the quality of support by renegotiating such expectations.

People in career transitions who lack a support network, such as those who have made geographic moves and have left friendships in another community, may need to participate in formalized support groups generally consisting of individuals also involved in career transitions. Other groups, organized around various interests, provide support as a secondary benefit. These include groups where members share common interests in the outdoors, dancing, religious faith, or a variety of avocations.

Category 3: Skills for assessing, developing, and utilizing internal support systems. Internal support refers to "self-messages"—messages people give themselves about how they experience a transition. This internal self-talk provides critical or supportive messages during a transition. These internal thoughts and mental images allow people to remember and use past experiences in their current decisions and plans. However, their thoughts could function as "self-defeating instructions" also. This principle of self-instruction is true particularly for career changers who may unduly hamper themselves by fears of failure, low self-esteem, or inability to cope with frustrations.

Counselors can assist career changers in becoming more internally supportive in various ways. One method uses visualization to help them picture themselves as ideally they would like to be. As people relax, they are asked to picture themselves *in detail* feeling confident and happy, satisfied in their relationships with others, healthy, and spiritually at peace. They are asked to picture themselves in a variety of life roles, especially career roles, as they imagine feeling effective and well in each of these areas. As they visualize themselves behaving in the future, they are asked to notice as many details about themselves as they can. These include facial expressions, mannerisms, movements, voice tone, dress, eating habits, and interpersonal style, so that they can remember specific behavior whenever they want to remember the picture. Because this image represents an unattained ideal of themselves, they are asked to choose one or two details of this image to begin to implement in their lives. This might involve exercising daily, choosing healthful foods, or walking with greater confidence. People are introduced to the process of becoming the positive people they have imagined themselves to be potentially.

A second useful strategy to help career changers develop internal support is to teach them about cognitive distortions that lead them to feel discouraged, depressed, and frustrated. Burns (1980) described 10 typical cognitive distortions of career changers. For example, they may catastrophize their job circumstance, disqualify their positive attributes, or think in ways that increase their fears and limit their positive responses to career transitions. People can learn to recognize these distortions in their own thinking and substitute a natural alternative for these thoughts.

Category 4**: **Skills for managing emotional and physiological distress. Selye (1974) stated that stress is a normal condition of meeting changes and threats with adaptive responses. Stress involves physiological changes (general adaptation syndrome) that may be experienced as either anxiousness (distress), or as pleasure (eustress). The task for each person is to find the optimum amount of stressful stimulation that is exhilarating and energizing, and yet that maintains a feeling of relaxation and flow. Each person also must seek a balance between alternating periods of stress and quietness. Skills in this fourth group of coping skills are intended to manage the stress effects often associated with transition.

Counselors can help career changers to assess their responses to stress by discussing physiological, cognitive, emotional, and behavioral signs of distress. It is useful to elicit the methods the person has used previously to manage stress. He or she may have some useful methods of managing stress that are not being used at this time but that could be reactivated. Numerous strategies exist for managing stress. Muscle relaxation exercises, meditational breathing, cognitive restructuring, stress innoculation, and setting priorities are representative of these strategies.

It is important to note that not all approaches to stress management necessarily involve reducing stress. Some individuals lack sufficient stimulation to feel comfortable. Employees who are distressed because they lack occupational promotion, for example, may need to increase their activity level in order to manage stress.

Category 5**: **Skills for planning and implementing change. Personal transitions usually are accompanied by a desire to reassess one's current life style and to plan strategies for responding to the change constructively. Because of the importance of making effective decisions during transitions, some of the decision-making and implementing skills required have been specified.

Transitional decisions differ from routine life decisions because they involve the risk of suffering further loss. As a result of perceiving the potential risks, many people feel overwhelmed and experience acute choice conflict. This conflict is characterized by feelings of anxiety, hesitation, vacillation, and uncertainty. These feelings also may be accompanied by self-blame or a desire to escape from the situation (Lazarus, 1977).

Although there are various styles of decision making, skills in rational decision making are emphasized. According to Janis and Mann (1977), people who cope well under stressful conditions tend to utilize rational decision-making skills. The decisions of these people are more likely to lead to satisfactory outcomes than are those of people who use other methods. In contrast, poor decision making often leads to regrettable outcomes, feelings of helplessness or disappointment, and increased expectations of vulnerability.

Counselors can help career changers assess their decision-making skills by exploring previous decisions they felt were made effectively. From past experiences, people can clarify their typical decision-making styles, beliefs about risk taking, and abilities to implement plans.

Decision-making skills can be learned through various methods. Workbooks, such as those of Loughary and Ripley (1976), provide structures for applying rational decision-making skills to career decisions. Computer programs such as SIGI and DISCOVER can be useful in clarifying trade-offs in contrasting career choices. Visualization can be used to imagine oneself implementing divergent career choices. Self-management skills such as using self-rewards for attaining goals can be practiced as one takes action to explore career alternatives.

Career Development Coping Skills

In addition to general transition coping skills, career changers often need specific career development coping skills. These skills can be grouped as skills in self-assessment, gaining occupational and work environment information, and conducting a job search.

Category 1: Self-assessment skills. Self-assessment skills involve the ability to identify one's goals, values, and abilities related to work. Career goals are generally based on analysis of skills and values. One's career skills and values are usually assessed by reviewing previous accomplishments, present interests, and future dreams. Many writers have described approaches to identifying values and skills. Bolles (1977a, 1979b), Haldane, (Germann & Arnold, 1980), Crystal and Bolles (1974), and Brammer and Humberger (1984) systematically reviewed life accomplishments, describing each accomplishment and then clustering skills that clients enjoyed using. Loughary and Ripley (1976) provided workbook exercises for identifying values and abilities. Interest tests such as the Strong Campbell Interest Inventory can provide another perspective on work interests.

Career skills are usually divided into three categories: self-management skills, transferable skills, and specific knowledge skills. *Self-management* skills refer to personal attributes or traits describing a person's style of responding to problems and demands. These skills can be of great importance to success in various occupations. They include being dynamic, versatile, responsible, perceptive, concerned, compassionate, candid, sensitive, reliable, warm, open-minded, and outgoing. Self-management skills can be identified from checklists based on autobiographies, interpersonal feedback, and certain psychological tests.

Transferable "functional" skills can be utilized across a variety of occupations. These skills include communicating, managing, reporting, planning, organizing, coordinating, leading, delegating, and instructing. They can be clustered in various ways, such as data/people/things, or into Holland's categories. Transferable skills can be analyzed using materials developed by Bolles (1979a), Crystal and Bolles (1974), and Haldane (Germann & Arnold, 1980).

Specific knowledge skills are the least transferable. They include specific knowledge or procedures that are useful in one field of work but are not always transferable to other occupations. A nurse's knowledge of anatomical terms, for example, would be a specific knowledge skill with limited transferability to other career fields. Specific knowledge skills are most often learned through formal education.

Category 2: Skills in learning about occupations, employers, and work environments. Once career changers have identified their category 1 career skills, they then need to gather information about occupations, employers, and work environments. The *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, and professional or trade journals can provide useful occupational information. Additional occupational information, as well as information about specific employers or work environments, can be learned by networking and establishing personal contacts in organizations of interest. These personal contacts can then be interviewed for career information. A Department of Labor study reported that 54% of jobs are found through friends and relatives and another 31% are found through direct contacts. Only 5% were found through ads and 9% were found through a combination of school placement, state employment services, and private placement agencies (U.S. Department of Labor, 1981). Networking strategies have been described by Bolles (1979a), Germann and Arnold (1980), and Brammer and Humberger (1984).

Category 3: Skills in job search, career enhancement, and life-style change. When a career changer has targeted an occupational role, potential employer, and work environment in which to utilize her or his skills, the next step involves the career change. At this stage, it is often important to develop job search or career enhancement skills. Interviewing and writing resumes are particularly important. For career changers who remain in the same organization, other skills may be useful for career transfer or advancement. One man, for example, took an advanced management course to develop skills to enhance his chances of obtaining a promotion. Skills for interviewing and writing resumes have been described by Bolles (1979a) and Brammer and Humberger (1984). Counselors can assist career changers by role playing interviews and reviewing resumes.

CONCLUSIONS

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, career changers will vary in their needs to develop new coping skills. The needs of voluntary changers will be different from involuntary career changers. Some people will benefit most from general coping skills and others will need primarily career-specific coping skills. It is hoped that the information presented in this chapter will help counselors working with adults with a variety of career concerns.

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CHAPTER 7

Systematic Career Guidance and Computer-Based Systems

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Career development professionals need to make a distinction between computer-based career *information* systems and computer-based career *guidance* systems and how each can contribute toward the delivery of a systematic career guidance program. Once a conceptual base is defined for the utility and applicability of systems, the task of identifying needed counselor roles and understandings as well as strategies for incorporating the computer into the program delivery process becomes less difficult. This chapter, therefore, has three major purposes: (a) to suggest some assumptions and a generic model for the content of a career guidance program; (b) to draw distinctions between computer-based career *information* and career *guidance* systems; and (c) to relate these two types of systems to the generic model proposed for the specific purpose of defining areas that need counselor support and intervention.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF A DEVELOPMENTAL CAREER GUIDANCE PROGRAM

In proposing a model for any activity, the model-maker must be working from a set of theoretical assumptions. Obviously, lack of acceptance of the assumptions may result in lack of acceptance of the model. For that reason the following clear statement of assumptions is set forth:

Assumption 1: Career guidance is a process, not a single or multiple choice-point event. A related assumption, therefore, is that a career guidance program is also a process that can be systematic, rather than a single one-shot treatment or a series of same. Super (Super, 1953; Super, Starishevsky, Matlin, & Jordaan, 1963; Super & Thompson, 1979; Super, 1981) has elaborated on the maxistages and developmental tasks and behaviors of this process whereas Tiedeman (Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963; Tiedeman & Peatling, 1977) has defined and described the ministages and decisions inherent in them. Career development, then, is a normal developmental process that will ideally result in appropriate vocational maturity (i.e. knowing how to cope with the career development tasks of each life stage) and in satisfying vocational choices.

One natural inference from this assumption is that mastering the process of meeting and making career choices is at least as important as the choice itself. In other words, our career guidance programs should be designed in such a way that a process of choice making is learned. Having mastered this process, the student/client/decider is outfitted for reinitiating the process throughout life whenever new choice making is required or desirable. A further inference then is that evaluation of programs should not rest with comparing an occupational selection at point A with a job placement at point B to see if guidance effected a "good" decision, but rather with finding out if a process was learned at point A that could be applied again and again at Points B–Z.

Assumption 2: Good choice making (decision making) can only take place when the student/client/decider is in a state of readiness for doing so. The three predominant career choice and development theorists—Holland, Super, and Tiedeman—describe this "readiness" differently, but each is confident about its existence. Holland (1973) described it in terms of consistency (having interests and competencies that are correlationally related to each other on his hexagon) and differentiation (having some areas of interest and competency significantly higher than others). Super (1974, 1981) described it in terms of vocational maturity, that is, in terms of having high vocational maturity scores at least on attitudinal scales of the Career Development Inventory, specifically "Awareness of Need to Plan" and "Knowledge and Use of Resources." Tiedeman (Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963; Tiedeman & Peatling, 1977) described it in terms of having gone through the anticipation stage of the decision-making process, that is, exploration, crystallization, tentative choice, and clarification.

An inference from these theorists is that attempting to move students and clients ahead to choice and implementation before a state of readiness has been achieved may be a waste of time and money. For Holland, a state of consistency and differentiation of interests and competencies must be achieved before "good" choices can be made. For Super, a higher-than-average degree of vocational maturity as measured by the attitudinal scales in his Career Development Inventory (Super & Bowlsbey, 1981) needs to be achieved before moving on to cognitive content from which choice emerges. For Tiedeman, the implementation stage of decision making cannot be achieved without adequately going through the steps involved in the anticipation stage. For career guidance programs it means that elements must be built into programs to help accomplish these preliminary tasks to create the needed readiness for choice.

Assumption 3: Clear, realistic knowledge of self—especially preferred interests, strong competencies, and values—is a necessary prerequisite to vocational choices. Again, each of the major theorists addresses this topic in his own words. For Holland (1973) the choice of an occupation should be the congruent implementation of a consistent, well-differentiated code as measured on his Self-Directed Search (SDS) or Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI). The code is a simple statement of an individual's interests, competencies, and desired rewards. For Super (Super, Starishevky, Matlin, & Jordaan, 1963; Super, 1980; 1981), the choice of an occupation should be the implementation of a self-concept. For Tiedeman, (Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963; Tiedeman & Peatling, 1977) it should be a statement of self-identity.

Ideally, all individuals would have the luxury of such self-actualization through work. In the reality of vocational choice and compromise, many individuals may not be able to actualize self ideally through work alone due to the economy, shifts in work force caused by rapid technological change, and high unemployment. For many, this ideal self-actualization may have to take place in life roles—such as parent, spouse, homemaker, citizen, leisurite (Super, 1980)—other than worker or at least partially so. Nonetheless, focused self-knowledge is essential and prerequisite to utilization of interests, abilities, and values in any combination of life roles.

Assumption 4: Career and world-of-work information is likewise a necessary prerequisite to satisfying vocational choice. Parsons (1909) said it at the beginning of the vocational guidance movement, and none of the theorists would minimize it today. Holland (1973) said that individuals have to know which occupations are congruent with their personal codes. Super (1974) said that one has to process career information, world-of-work information, and specific occupational information in order to be vocationally mature. In Super's terms, career information refers to general information about the roles that make up career and the types of career patterns that one may design or fall subject to. World-of-work information refers to knowledge of the structure and interrelationships of occupations. Occupational information refers to knowledge of facts about job tasks, training, employment outlook, salary, and the like for specific occupations. Though it's as old as Parsons, it bears repeating that students/clients must acquire cognitive knowledge of a structure for organizing occupations, of general career development principles, and of basic facts about occupations that bear exploration.

Assumption 5: The catalyst that puts this all together as a workable system within an individual is decision-making skill. The need to make decisions is triggered by the awareness addressed in Assumption 2. The knowledge of self and of the outside world is the grist in the mill of decision making. The power for the mill is an internalized process of decision making that gives the individual control over the decisions and their outcomes as well as over the compromises that will inevitably have to be made. The decision-making process provides the structure for choice and the linkages needed between self-information and world-of-work/occupational/career information. From these linkages flows a list of alternatives for further exploration, including reality testing.

Assumption 6: Implementation is not an activity unto itself, but should be a late step in the guidance process. Implementation behavior, such as applying for financial aid, college entrance, entry into the military or apprenticeships, or job seeking should flow from the previous steps of the process described here.

A GENERIC MODEL FOR SYSTEMATIC CAREER GUIDANCE

Although models must usually be presented in such a way that one step logically follows another (and this model will be presented that way, too) the linear sequence of these steps is not that clear-cut, and some activities (such as acquiring self-information and world-of-work information) may be going on simultaneously. Based on the six assumptions stated previously, it seems that a developmental, systematic career guidance program has the following components:

Component 1: Development of readiness for career planning, information, and decision making. This may be the most difficult component of those described here. There has been very little recognition in the guidance field of the need for this component and even less research about how to develop it. Extensive research and development have been done (Super & Overstreet, 1960; Crites, 1971; Westbrook & Clarey, 1967), however, to measure the level of existence of readiness, and this construct has been identified as a significant factor of vocational maturity. One possible outcome of such assessment is the design of differential career guidance programs for individuals of differing levels of readiness. A second possible outcome is the assignment of individuals with different levels of readiness to these differential treatments. Further, a third use of such assessment is for the measuring of the differing effects of different methods of career guidance treatment.

How can systematic, developmental career guidance programs foster readiness, or stated in another way, create awareness of the need to plan ahead? Some things seem clear, based on research in Charles County, Maryland (Super & Bowlsbey, 1981). First, the development of this awareness should be begun in the middle school years and is probably much more important than many of the activities currently included in career education. Second, parents have a large role in the development of these attitudes, and therefore the counselor should find ways to support the parent in this task. Third, time perspective or awareness of present-future relationships is a concept that grows with maturity; hence, the activities that are planned to foster it must be appropriate to the age level of the learners.

Creative work, not now existent, needs to be done to design appropriate activities for the development of readiness. These activities not only need to focus on awareness of need to plan and time perspective, but also on autonomy, internal locus of control, strength of self-concept, positive role models, exploration, information-seeking, and decision-making skill (Super & Bowlsbey, 1981).

Component 2: Acquisition of relevant self-data. Given the assumption that good vocational choice provides an outlet for self-variables such as interests, abilities, and values and personality traits, assisting the decision maker to become aware of these aspects of self in an organized way is critical. There are at least three modes in which such self-information can be acquired by the decider. First, a knowledgeable theory-based counselor can ferret out these aspects of self and provide students/clients with structure through one-to-one interviews. Second, a variety of measurement instruments—inventories of interests and values and batteries of aptitude tests—can be administered. Through them an individual is compared to a theory-based schema, to norm groups of others of similar age, or to adults already in specific occupations. Third, a computer can be programmed to perform the same functions as the measurement instruments by providing on-line test administration, scoring, and interpretation. In each of the three modes of delivery, the key variable is that linkages be made between the individual's profile on these variables and the titles of occupations that relate to the individual's profile, as described in Component 3.

Component 3: Translation of self-data into information. Tiedeman (1970) made a distinction between "data" and "information." *Data* are a collection of facts, in this case, about the self. *Information* is data that have been personalized so that they inform the self about potential choice and paths of behavior. Starishevsky & Matlin (1963) referred to the same phenomenon as "translating *psychtalk* to *occtalk*," where "psychtalk" means a collection of fragments about the self and "occtalk" means occupational titles. I Corinthians may have stated the same principle as "Though I know all there is to know about self but cannot relate this knowledge to occupational choice, I am woefully destitute in relation to career planning."

The message is that any systematic career guidance program or material must assist the decider to make the linkage between relevant self-variables (interests, skills/aptitudes, values, goals) and occupational alternatives. Being able to do so implies an abundance of research to validate the linkages.

Component 4: Acquisition of relevant information about identified occupations. Information is absolutely central to the career guidance and decision-making process. Both the National Career Development Association (NCDA) [formerly the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA)] and the Association of Computer-Based Systems for Career Information (ACSCI) have written guidelines in regard to the content, accuracy, and recentness of occupational information. Well-developed information may be made available to deciders on paper, on microfiche, through computers, or by interviewing workers in the community. Obtaining comparable, complete, and timely information about all occupational alternatives under consideration is clearly needed as a basis for decision making.

Not only is occupational information needed, but likewise career and world-of-work information. Career information refers to knowledge of life stages, the tasks related to each, the composite of life roles that make up career in the broad sense and the career patterns that one might follow. This knowledge is important in assisting the individual with the lifelong process of career development and change and in helping with the understanding of the worker role in relation to all others. World-of-work information refers to knowledge about the organization of occupations, characteristics on which they vary, and their interrelationships. This information can help individuals understand the potential for career change with or without retraining and the concept of transferability of skills.

Component 5: Acquisition and development of decision-making skills. This component has been consistently identified by researchers as an ingredient of vocational maturity. It seems to include cognitive knowledge about decision-making styles and steps and the development of skills to follow the steps of a planned decision-making process. Such content and skills can be taught through didactic instruction by humans or computers or by guiding a person through the process without direct didactic instruction until the individual internalizes the process. The goal, of course, of such instruction/simulation is to assist the individual in learning a process that can be used again and again in all life roles, work-related as well as others. Practice of the decision-making process allows the decider to gather appropriate information about identified alternatives, weigh the potential risks and rewards of each, judge which alternatives offer the best combinations of satisfaction and likely success, make tentative choices accordingly, and prepare for reality testing and implementation.

Component 6. Reality-testing of favored alternatives. The purpose of this component is to assist deciders to experience as realistically as possible the favored alternatives. Such testing may be done through simulations, course work, work-study programs, jobs, internships, or practical laboratory experience. The closer these experiences are to reality the more helpful they will be to the decision-making process. It is important for both the student and the counselor to remember that finding out that a given alternative is not a viable one is as important as finding out that an alternative is viable. The counselor should assume the role of "engineer of experience" for the decider and should assist in the process of identifying or creating useful reality-testing experiences.

Out of reality testing, further collection of detailed information, and clarification should come choice. Choice consists of the selection of one alternative from among the several that may exist. This alternative should be the one that seems to have the highest probability of assisting the decider to find self-actualization in work and reach desired goals.

Component 7: Implementation of choice. The choice of an occupation always implies some next steps. These next steps may include preparing to enter a college or technical school, applying for financial aid, entering an apprenticeship or the military, or seeking and finding a job. Traditionally counselors have provided a great deal of assistance with some of these implementation steps without adequate attention to the preceding components of career development and choice. Assistance with implementation should lead to specific action steps and involvement in and commitment to a set of behaviors.

Presentation of this model in seven defined components can erroneously lead the reader to believe that after Component 7 the task is finished. Such is not the case. Career development is a series of completions of this process, each leading the decider, it is hoped, to a higher level of vocational maturity and healthy growth. Skills, once learned, can be applied again and again to this process as personal desire and external circumstances demand.

INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND GUIDANCE SYSTEMS

Several modes of delivery of services can be utilized to assist deciders with the components or steps of the career guidance process. They include one-to-one counseling, workshops, group guidance, curriculum, telephone service, self-help materials, and the computer. In this chapter we focus our attention on the computer as a mode of delivery although it may be enhanced by one or a combination of the other modes.

The several computer-based systems that are available for lease or purchase in schools, agencies, and other settings can be viewed as plot points on a continuum with two poles. One pole is computer-based *information* systems, and the other is computer-based *guidance* systems. As development continues to grow in this field it becomes increasingly difficult to allocate systems to this continuum. This is true because the systems that once represented the information end of the continuum are making some movement toward adding elements of the guidance process. Similarly, the systems that once represented the guidance process end of the continuum are making movement toward improved methods of information development and addition of local data. Professionals who are reviewing and evaluating systems should consider the continuum and attempt to assign a relative position to each system under consideration as well as to assign a position to the "ideal" system desired to meet local needs.

Some functions are common to both information-emphasis and guidance-process-emphasis systems. These functions are (a) the storing of large files of data; (b) the accessing of these files by a successive combination of variables; and (c) the provision of detailed information about options in the files as requested by the user. These files may contain information about occupations, colleges, technical schools, graduate schools, apprenticeships, military programs, financial aids, or employers. Access variables may be internal or external to the user. For example, internal variables may be interest or aptitude scores. External variables may be job characteristics, physical requirements, or related programs of study. Detailed information may be short summaries, responses to interactive questions, or lengthy printouts.

There are at least four characteristics on which information-emphasis and guidance-process-emphasis systems typically vary. These are (1) the assessment of self-variables on-line (at the terminal); (2) the development of local occupational information; (3) the teaching of career development concepts; and (4) the storage of a user record.

Typically, information-emphasis systems do not administer any assessment instruments (that is, interest inventories, ability rating scales, values inventories, and the like) at the computer terminal. Some may, however, utilize scores of such assessment instruments that have been taken on paper. Guidance-process-emphasis systems, on the other hand, do typically provide self-assessment instruments or simulations at the computer terminal because, by definition, they are considered to be at the heart of the guidance process.

Relating to the second distinction, information-emphasis systems specialize in the development of local labor market information. Although guidance-process-emphasis systems are highly concerned about accurate and timely occupational information, they do not typically engage in the development of state labor market supply-and-demand information. Rather they utilize general occupational information (work tasks, training, general employment outlook, salary ranges, etc.) of a national scope garnered from a variety of national sources.

Third, information-emphasis systems do not typically use the computer to teach career development concepts such as clarification of values, organization of the world of work, the decision-making process, job-seeking skills, or life/career stages. On the other hand, career guidance-emphasis systems do because these topics and others are central to the career-development-process approach described in the beginning of this chapter.

Finally, information-emphasis systems do not typically store individual records of use in computer files. There is no necessity to do so because no personalized user data are being generated, and no long-term process is being monitored. Guidance-emphasis systems, alternatively, do create individual computer-stored records in order to "save" the results of self-assessment instruments for systematic use, remind the user of parts of the system used or not used, and generally monitor the user's progress through the prescribed process.

The boxed information entitled "Information and Guidance Systems Continuum" summarizes the information-guidance process continuum proposed here and the four specific elements that characterize this distinction.

Information and Guidance Systems Continuum

Information-Emphasis Systems	Guidance-Process-Emphasis Systems
1. *Do not* assess self-variables on-line.	1. *Do* assess self-variables on-line.
2. *Do* develop localized labor market information.	2. *Do not* develop localized labor market information.
3. *Do not* teach career development concepts on-line.	3. *Do* teach career development concepts on-line.
4. *Do not* store user records.	4. *Do* store user records.

COMPUTER-BASED SYSTEMS AND THE MODEL

At the outset of consideration of the role of the computer in relation to a systematic model of career guidance, it is important to state that none of the computer-based systems were designed to replace counselors or to be "stand-alone" systems. Research (Garis, 1982; Penn, 1981) has indicated that the best career guidance treatment for students is the combination of the computer and the counselor. If, however, there is inadequate staff to provide this combined treatment, the use of the computer alone produces positive and desirable effects far in excess of no treatment at all.

The real questions, then, relate to how much of the career guidance process to assign to the computer, how much to other modes of delivery, and how these roles can be shared. Table 1 summarizes the career guidance model that has been presented and provides an indication of the roles of computer-based information and guidance systems, counselors, and other modes of delivery in relation to the model. A review of Table 1 shows possible combinations of modes of delivery of the suggested components and indicates that guidance-process systems provide relatively more support to the guidance process than information systems. This does not necessarily translate to the need for fewer counselors or a lighter load for counselors because available research (Myers, Thompson, Lindeman, Super, Patrick, & Friel, 1972) on this topic indicates that individuals go to counselor more, not less, due to the use of computer-based systems. The topics that they discuss with counselors, however, are well beyond the information-giving level, thus providing the individual with an increased amount of help and the counselor with much more professional job duties.

Note that neither information systems nor guidance systems currently attempt to develop the readiness of their users for career information, decision making, and planning. This is currently a task left to counselors and to planned experiences in the classroom, home, and the community.

The second component—acquisition of relevant self-data—is peculiar to the guidance systems, with a sharing of this role by counselors. Typical computer-delivered activities offered in this regard are the on-line administration and interpretation of inventories of work-related values or interests and the self-ratings of abilities of skills. The prominent career guidance systems assess interests, abilities or skills, and values. This organization of self-data is used to provide a list of occupational titles for exploration. Further, the computer may be used to show the user the overlap or inconsistency between or among interests, values, and abilities. Doubtless future guidance systems will provide abilities testing in an adaptive mode so that data better than self-ratings can be acquired with a minimum of computer and user time. The computer is an excellent medium for this kind of self-assessment because it provides the maximum in objectivity and is capable of providing a variety of personalized interpretations dependent upon the user's specific profile. Such interpretations, though personalized for a variety of specific combinations, can be delivered in a standard, objective way to each individual and with the advantage of the most expert knowledge behind both the assessment instruments and the interpretation.

Table 1

Steps of the Career Guidance Model in Relation to Information and Guidance Model

	Other (curriculum, parents, work experience, etc.)	*Computer-based Information Systems*	*Computer-based Guidance Systems*	*Counselor (one to one and/or group)*
1. Development of readiness for career planning, information, and decision making.	XX	—	—	XX
2. Acquisition of relevant self-data.	—	—	XX	XX
3. Translation of self-data into occupational alternatives.	—	X	XX	XX
4. Acquisition of relevant information about identified occupations and related educational programs.	—	XX	XX	—
5. Acquisition and/or development of decision-making skills.	XX	—	XX	XX
6. Reality-testing of favored alternatives.	XX	—	—	X
7. Implementation of choice.	—	XX	XX	X

XX = Primary responsibility.
X = Secondary responsibility.

The linkage of self-data to occupations is performed by career guidance systems and by some information systems that utilize scores of assessment instruments taken on paper. The counselor also shares this role.

Both types of computer-based systems can potentially do an excellent job of providing information about occupations targeted for exploration as well as providing cognitive knowledge of career and world-of-work information. Both the National Career Development Association (NCDA) and the Association of Computer-Based Systems for Career Information (ACSCI) have provided guidelines in regard to the content, accuracy, timeliness, and scope of vocational information. Given that system developers adhere to these guidelines, the computer is an excellent mode of delivery for such information, which can be presented in an interactive question and answer format or in lengthy descriptions.

The computer has several significant advantages in the delivery of occupational information. First, it has high motivational appeal. At least one study (McKinlay & Adams, 1971) has indicated that poor readers can read text broken into segments and displayed on a screen considerably better than they can read the same text in printed form. In addition to its appeal in computer-delivered form, occupational information can be presented in a totally objective, nonbiased way (assuming the text is written that way) without the subtle nonverbal messages that we humans sometimes transmit. Finally, computer-stored occupational information can be updated much more dynamically (assuming the availability of new data) than printed information because of the capability for constant online maintenance.

It has already been stated that Component 5—the acquisition and development of decision-making skills—is a hallmark of the guidance systems. There is insufficient knowledge about how decision-making skill is acquired or can be taught. Nonetheless guidance systems are attempting to make a contribution in this area both by the didactic teaching (utilizing computer-assisted instruction methods) of the steps of the decision-making process and by utilizing the monitoring function of the computer to shepherd users through a planned process (hoping that they may internalize it) whether they are cognitively aware of it or not.

Neither information nor guidance systems are currently doing an adequate job with Component 6—assisting individuals with the reality-testing of favored occupational alternatives. By definition, reality-testing is a trial run in the real world, a putting of self into the real situation in order to experience the resulting satisfaction or dissatisfaction. For this reason computers will never do the whole job; simulation will never be enough. This is a component with which the community, the employer, and the school can provide substantial help. Guidance and information systems may approach this goal by the use of the videodisk, with full sound and motion. With this new medium under computer control, the user will be able to see and hear work settings and work tasks, and this will be closer to reality than reading alone.

Both guidance and information systems are providing significant assistance in the implementation of choice. This component involves assisting people with the next steps after choice of an occupation. These next steps involve selecting a major, a college, graduate school, technical school, job, military program, or acquiring financial aid. The different guidance and information systems vary considerably in terms of the number of these files provided and the extent of the data in each file. Potentially computers can provide assistance with this component well beyond that which the counselor can provide because the best capabilities of the computer are utilized.

SUMMARY

This chapter has stated some basic assumptions of a developmental career guidance program. From these assumptions, seven components deemed essential to a career guidance program were derived and described. Following that, two types of comptuer-based programs—information-emphasis and guidance-process-emphasis—were described and defined. Finally, these types of systems and other modes of delivery were reviewed in light of the seven components. Observations were made about the contributions of each type of system to the proposed generic model.

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CHAPTER 8

A Team Approach to Career Counseling

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Adult career development requires teamwork. For optimal career counseling of working adults, it is necessary to consider the contributions and resources provided by three players: the professionally trained career counselor, the career planner, and the employer or potential employer. Each has a role in the career planning process.

Also, the career planning and counseling process is only as good as the data upon which it is based. The career counselor may identify areas where more information is needed and may facilitate the process of learning more about career planning. The work place can provide guidance relevant to environmental expectations and needs, but the final steps—weighing information, selecting goals, and taking action—can be accomplished only by the individual career planner.

Because different players make different contributions to the career planning process, a variety of counseling interventions should be utilized whenever possible. Three major categories of counseling interventions are discussed in this chapter: professionally assisted counseling, self-paced counseling, and managerial counseling.

COUNSELOR-ASSISTED CAREER PLANNING

Although theoretical approaches differ, most professional career counselors attempt to follow the following general guidelines:

- appreciate, understand, and attend to the unique life planning history and future needs of each client;
- explore the dynamic history of each client and understand that career planning must go hand in hand with overall life planning and adult development issues;

- instruct the career planner in a decision-making model that can have ongoing significance as it is applied to other life decisions and that can be used without a counselor;
- give general career information when it is available, but, more important, teach the adult career planner how to find information specific to his or her needs; and
- help the adult career planner use the resources of the work environment by developing networking, mentoring, and managerial appraisal and coaching contacts.

Another particularly valuable counseling tool for working with adults is the career planning workshop. In addition to being more cost-effective than individual counseling, it may, for a number of reasons, be more effective in facilitating the career planning process (Bowen & Hall, 1977). Group members help each other both practically and emotionally. In the first place, the leader and other participants can provide information on job possibilities and alternative solutions to career problems that might not be available without group input. Second, group participants find that they share many concerns, worries, and aspirations with others. This realization reduces both their sense of isolation and fear of being alone in their confusion and struggle.

The group is instrumental in developing social skills that can generalize to the career planning skills of interviewing, dealing assertively with a boss, and selling one's ideas. In addition, the workshop leader and other participants can serve as role models for the risk taking required in career decision making. Furthermore, a group can serve as a motivational force and stimulant to independent action. Reporting back to the group on progress made over time works as effectively in career planning as it has for so many others in groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Weight Watchers.

An effective career development workshop for the adult learner can easily mirror the overall career-planning process used in self-paced or individual career-counseling efforts. The core of such programs, then, would consist of segments devoted to understanding self, understanding the environment, and eventually taking action. A life-management component effectively addresses those specific adult transitions that often make career planning more complex in adult years. Those adult issues may include family and parenting responsibilities, financial management, and divorce and separation difficulties.

SELF-PACED CAREER INTERVENTIONS

In the real world of career decision making, however, the career counselor has limited resources and energy to reach the many clients who could benefit from career counseling. In the place of, and sometimes alongside of, one-to-one counseling and group interventions are self-paced career explorations and the use of appropriate adult models and coaches in the career development process. As Holland (1974) suggested, ". . . the provision of information about self and careers in comprehensive, accessible and inexpensive ways may do for vocational counseling what penicillin has done for medicine." However, a self-paced approach requires a capacity for self-direction and motivation that many adult career planners lack, particularly because most have not been instructed in such a model.

Self-paced career resource centers can give structure to this approach by providing self-administered career assessment tools, organized and classified occupational information, and computer-assisted vocational exploration. These systems are particularly well suited to the adult career planner's initiative and readiness to learn. Such career resource centers currently operate in many colleges and universities, community-based counseling centers, and employment settings.

For example, the career resource center at the U.S. General Accounting Office is based on a model developed at Goddard Space Flight Center. The center serves a dual purpose. It is designed to help individual employees in their career development while also serving as a tool to help managers and supervisors promote and facilitate their staffs' career development. The center includes four activity stations, each corresponding to one of the major phases of the career/life planning process.

Station A—*Understanding Self:* Provides self-scored instruments and materials to help the individual clarify personal values, goals, needs, interests, and skills.

Station B—*Understanding Environment:* Provides information on career path patterns and skill requirements for various occupations both within and outside the federal government. Station B is designed to help individuals analyze their realistic educational options and employment opportunities.

Station C—*Taking Action:* Provides a decision-making strategy that integrates information about self with information about the environment in order to construct a realistic action plan. Guides to implementation, such as interviewing techniques, assertiveness skills, and resume preparation, are included.

Station D—*Life Management:* Involves self-assessment checklists, pamphlets, resource books, and referral sources on a wide range of life concerns, including marriage, family, parenting, self-understanding, intimacy, midlife transition, retirement, financial management, health, stress, and grief.

Skills learned through use of a career resource center may be applied to any life or career transition. Both the individual and the organization gain from self-paced career resource programs, particularly when organizational systems exist to support such programs.

EMPLOYER-ASSISTED CAREER PLANNING

The third category of the career counseling interventions is centered on the assistance of the employers in the work place. To support a truly integrative process, career counseling must be a cooperative effort among the employee, the professional counselor, and the manager. Each of these parties has a distinct role, but each is dependent on the other. The manager's role is important from a practical counseling perspective. Leibowitz and Schlossberg (1981, p. 73) listed nine roles the supervisor/manager may play:

- communicator: One who promotes a two-way exchange between himself or herself and the employee;
- counselor: One who helps the employee clarify goals and identify steps to take to reach these goals, whether or not they relate to the present organization;
- appraiser: One who evaluates an employee's performance and helps to work out a development plan so the employee can achieve objectives specific to the current job;
- coach: One who gives instruction or skill training to enable an employee to do his or her job more effectively;
- mentor: One who serves as a sponsor to facilitate an employee's career growth;
- advisor: One who gives information about career opportunities both within and outside the organization;
- broker: One who serves as an agent (go-between) for the employee and recommends him or her to other resources such as people or institutions;
- referral agent: One who identifies resources to help an employee with specific problems; and
- advocate: One who intervenes on behalf of an employee for benefits, promotions, and elimination of obstacles.

The manager's success in each of these roles is dependent on counseling ability and an understanding of how career development activities fit into the manager's job. Changing social values, different career patterns, and varying employee aspirations present today's manager with problems that the typical Master of Business Administration program does not address. One of the roles of the professional counselor is to help the manager acquire and perfect the career counseling skills needed in the work place.

The concept of the manager as counselor has not been accepted with open arms by most managers. Many see it as taking away from time they traditionally devote to production. Adding to this concern is the fear of not having the ability to handle these activities adequately.

In some organizations professional counselors in the work place have begun implementing educational and support activities to help the managers develop career counseling skills. Their primary objective is to provide the manager with:

- an understanding of the career development process;
- an understanding of the organization's obligations and the individual's responsibilities; and
- an opportunity to learn and practice interpersonal and counseling skills.

Government and business organizations are replete with illustrations of these efforts. Some efforts, such as the General Electric Company program (Jones, Kaye, & Taylor, 1981), stress the expansion of the manager's knowledge of career development, whereas others, such as those at IBM and the U.S. General Accounting Office, offer workshops that emphasize interpersonal and counseling skill building. Common to all of these programs is the effort to bring counseling techniques to the work place and to emphasize the connection between individual career planning and development and organizational needs. If such programs are to be beneficial for both the individual and the organization, a relationship must be established between supervisor and employee, as Edgar Schein (1977) emphasized: "If the organization can open up the communications channel between employees, their bosses, and whoever is managing the human resource system, the groundwork is laid for realistic individual development planning."

Managers must focus on one-to-one career counseling with their employees. They must structure sessions to discuss topics such as:

- employees' goals and aspirations, both long- and short-range;
- employees' expectations of themselves and the organization;
- the organization's plans and objectives, and how they relate to the work within the unit;
- real and possible opportunities for employees;
- other alternatives such as training, job rotation, and career transitions;
- employees' strengths and weaknesses as they pertain to present assignments and possible future assignments; and
- ways to develop individual development plans or to seek additional data or counseling.

For this career counseling system to work, information must be available to the manager and employee during counseling. Information about employees can emanate from personal assessments, counselor interaction, career resource materials, or in some instances formal assessment centers. The assessment center is becoming a major counseling tool for both managers and employees. Assessment of styles and competencies, coupled with career counseling and individual development planning, gives employees the opportunity to explore their potential fully and evaluate their goals and the expectations of the organization realistically. Although information obtained from the assessment centers has in the past focused on handling various production aspects of the job, centers now examine the individual's unique competencies. The manager and employee can then look at this information as it relates to the job they will be expected to accomplish. For instance, in many assessment programs, such as IBM-United Kingdom (Landon & Bray, undated), participants are required to write out their career and life goals, information that is used later during the counseling sessions.

A major area of confusion for the manager is the relationship between career counseling and performance appraisal. Many authors have discussed this topic (Schnier & Carroll, 1982) from varying perspectives. One of the recurring principles is that the performance appraisal session must be separate from the counseling session that deals with potential performance and career progression. This is especially true if the manager must determine pay based on the employee's performance appraisal.

Often, the employee-manager relationship becomes strained because of misunderstandings about future assignments, promotions, and other expectations. These misunderstandings then lead to distrust and deeper organizational and personal problems. The career counseling process provides the opportunity to discuss freely the employee's expectations as they relate to the job. If realistic goals are set and agreed to by the manager and the employee, future discussions will be easier for both parties.

Counselors can use the career counseling process as a means of impressing upon management the effectiveness of counseling services in the work place. By working with managers, professional counselors increase their ability to identify other counseling needs such as the need to identify emotional problems that manifest themselves on the job. This then leads to a more systematic approach to life and career planning.

A relatively recent approach to managerial counseling is the mentor program. Several corporations are employing the mentor concept in the development of future managers and employees. Both private corporations, such as Federal Express, and public organizations, such as the U.S. Government Senior Executive Service, have enjoyed high success with this approach to career guidance. The mentor-mentee counseling relationship connotes a longer and more intimate relationship than that of manager-employee or employee-counselor and therefore must be treated somewhat differently. The mentor relationship, as seen by Lundberg (1984), has two functions: the career function, which employs sponsorship, exposure and visibility, coaching, protection, and challenge, and the psychosocial function, which includes role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship.

Following are the major characteristics of the mentor-mentee relationship:

1. Mentors must possess interpersonal skills that promote openness and candor, and a willingness to share concern and provide constructive feedback.
2. The mentor-mentee relationship should be voluntary and the mentor should not be the immediate supervisor. In fact, the mentor should be from another unit within the organization.
3. The mentor should have multifunctional experience at the top of the organization and should have enough power to assist in supporting the mentee's developmental needs.
4. The mentor-mentee relationship should be a "no-fault" one so that if it doesn't work, neither party is harmed.

The notion of the mentor's providing a clear and uncomplicated avenue to career success is not the essence of the program. The mentor concept is important in career planning because it provides an added dimension that is missing in counselor-assisted or self-paced programs—knowledge of the informal ropes based on experience.

SUMMARY

Professional counselors, employers, and the individual all have a mutual goal—to promote decisions and actions that lead to productive and satisfying employment. Professionally assisted counseling, self-paced counseling, and managerial counseling must all come together in a mutually supportive relationship to maximize the probability of success.

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SECTION III:

TARGET POPULATIONS

FOR A VARIETY OF PEOPLE . . .

CHAPTER 9

Career Counseling Women: Principles, Procedures, and Problems

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Although vocational psychology and its applied discipline, career counseling, are over 70 years old, only lately has systematic attention been devoted to the career psychology of women (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983). When researchers began to investigate women's career development it quickly became apparent that such development is a more complex process than is that of men, due mainly to the societal norm that the biological roles of wife and mother are incompatible with the social role of worker. Such complexities have necessitated that practitioners, used to working mainly with men, begin to rethink their approach to career counseling when working with women.

The present chapter begins by reviewing the major approaches to career development and demonstrates the ways in which they do not accurately describe or predict the behavior of women. It then outlines diagnostic principles for assessing women's vocationally related problems, suggests specific techniques for intervention, and, finally, concludes with a discussion of the unique difficulties counselors face when working with women.

BACKGROUND

Theories of career choice can be characterized by two types: those that predict and explain the *content* of the choice (what occupation or career the person will enter) and those that describe the optimal *process* of career decision making (the stages and steps the person goes through in making the choice). A comprehensive theory of career development would include, of course, both content and process, however. So far none has appeared.

The original and most durable model of career choice content and the one which to some degree underlies all others, is known as trait-and-factor theory. Formulated originally by Parsons (1909), this model rests on three basic tenets:

1. Individuals differ in their interests, abilities, and personal characteristics (traits and factors).

2. Occupations differ in their requirements for various skills, the opportunities to fulfill various interests, and so forth.
3. The quality of a vocational choice (and, thus, the degree of success and satisfaction) is a function of the degree of agreement between the characteristics of the person and the requirements of the job.

The most recent and complete statement of this type is that of Holland (1984). He suggests that people have individual patterns of interests and abilities, and occupations have characteristic environments, both of which can be described in terms of the degree to which they conform to some configuration of six basic types:

Realistic: practical, down-to-earth, thing-oriented; prefers the outdoors, and concrete activities where mechanical dexterity and similar abilities are required.

Investigative: scientific, analytical, idea-oriented; independent; prefers to work alone.

Artistic: creative, expressive; prefers to express ideas and feelings in many forms of artistic media; dramatic, artistic, and sensitive.

Social: outgoing, friendly, people-oriented; prefers to solve problems by arranging and rearranging relationships.

Enterprising: outgoing, persuasive, and energetic; adept at selling and verbal persuasion.

Conventional: prefers structured activities in a well-oriented hierarchy; careful, orderly.

According to this model, a good vocational choice is one that results in *congruence*, or fit, between the person and the environment. Thus, this model is often referred to as a person-environment interaction theory.

From its inception as the somewhat simplistic "matching men (sic) and jobs" approach, through trait-and-factor theory, to the more comprehensive Holland categories of contemporary person-environment interaction theory, the matching model has proved a durable and useful way of thinking about and predicting the content of career choices, and has provided generations of career counselors with a framework for their practice. According to this model, the counseling process has three steps:

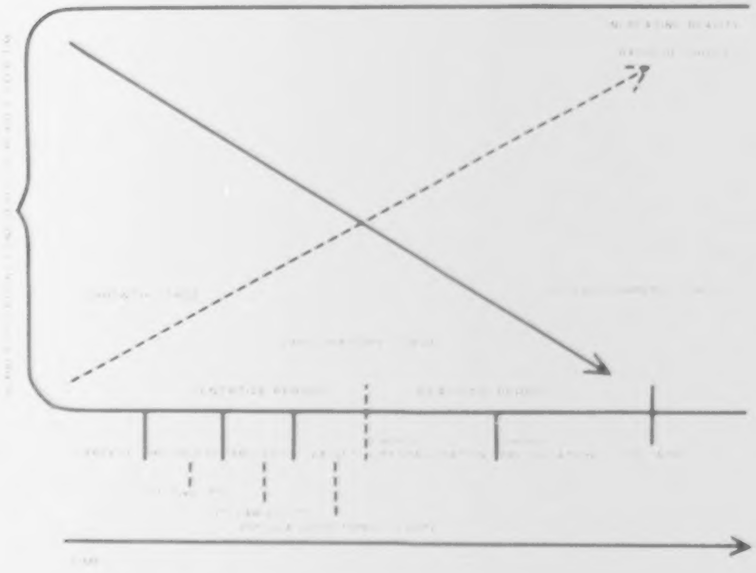
1. *Client Assessment*: In this stage the counselor, through in-depth interviewing and the use of psychological tests, assists the client to gain a clear picture of his or her strengths and weaknesses, interests, personality characteristics, goals, and so forth.
2. *Environmental Assessment*: Through the use of occupational information, the counselor assists clients in clarifying their perceptions of relevant parts of the world of work. The use of occupational information varies from the most mundane pamphlets and film clips to highly sophisticated techniques involving interviewing, volunteering, and interning.
3. *Decision Making*: Once a clear picture has been obtained of both the client and the potential opportunities, the counselor and client engage in a process of working through the various options. This involves: synthesizing, compromising, and attempting to arrive at the best possible choice for the client.

In contrast to this matching model that portrays the choice of a career as a point-in-time occurrence, the *developmental* model conceptualizes choice as a process that spans many years. It proceeds in orderly stages from early adolescence through adulthood, and culminates finally in retirement. Originally outlined by Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma (1951) and more fully elaborated by Super (1953), developmental theory accepts the importance of person/environment congruence, but chooses to highlight the process the person goes through in arriving at a clear specification of a choice and the attendant developmental tasks that must be mastered to successfully negotiate each stage. Figure 1 is based on the theoretical formulations of both Ginzberg and Super. It depicts these stages, highlights the exclusionary nature of the choice process, and shows the increasing reality base of choice across time. Note that the differential and developmental models are actually complementary ways of thinking about career choice, as the latter incorporates the former and casts it into a developmental framework.

According to this framework, during the exploration stage individuals base career preferences on their interests, then abilities, and finally, values. There is an ever-increasing reality base to this process as people first consider work based only on what they *like* to do, then consider what they are *able* to do (e.g., special skills and talents, weaknesses and handicaps), and finally incorporate their values. Through exploration of self and the world, the individual eventually crystallizes a vocational pref-

Figure 1

Hypothesized Stages in Career Development With Attendant Tasks or Bases for Choice



erence, and finally specifies an actual choice. This process is thought to occupy the years of junior high, high school, and postsecondary or college training, and concludes with the implementation of the choice through occupational entry, which is the empirical boundary between the exploration and establishment stages. Contemporary statements of developmental theory (e.g., Super, 1984) underscore the probability that people may "recycle" through these stages one or more times as they change jobs, fields, or careers during the course of their lives. The often cyclical nature of career development across the life span should be kept in mind, although for the sake of simplicity the process is described here in linear terms. Developmental career counseling, then, will include assessment of the client's stage of development as well as the traditional assessment of interests and abilities. For those who are developmentally delayed, or *career immature*, counseling will focus first on orientation to the choice process, and then on exploration, reality testing, and decision making. As Super and Overstreet (1960) have noted, counseling with the immature client is counseling to develop readiness for choice (to assist the client in understanding the choice process) rather than counseling concerning specific choices. Crites (1981) has written

> In sum, the overall process of career development progresses from orientation and readiness for career choice to decision making and reality testing, and the developmental career counselor initiates counseling at that point in the process which the client has reached. (p. 125)

For many years, career counselors utilized one or the other, or some combination, of these models to assist their (mostly male) clients to select, enter, and adjust to satisfying work. In the 1960s, however, with the advent of the civil rights movement and its outgrowth, the women's movement, women began moving into the work place in ever-increasing numbers. By the early 1980s, over 50% of American women were seeking and entering careers. Counselors began to work more often with female clients either fresh from completing their education and training or returning to the work world after an extended absence devoted to child rearing. It soon became apparent that the theories and procedures developed and used with men were less useful for predicting and facilitating the career development of women. According to Osipow (1975), women become discouraged by sex-role prescriptions from developing and implementing certain abilities, interests, and personality characteristics, as well as being effectively barred from participating in certain occupations or occupational environments. Thus, both the personal and environmental components of the matching model may be distorted by the expectations and requirements of sex roles, a finding which complicated the application of this model to women.

Similarly, many traditional women may not actually progress through a stage of exploration, nor successfully crystallize and specify a choice. Rather, female exploration may actually be pseudoexploration, pending marriage plans; true vocational development may occur later, when child rearing duties have been largely completed. Early research support for this can be found in Ginzberg et al. (1951). In their small sample of Barnard College women, the pattern of career development that had previously been similar to that of men began to diverge during the transition to the Realistic period. Although these women were highly select in terms of their ability, they began to be strongly oriented toward marriage, to show greater uncertainty concerning career-related decisions, and to be less work-oriented than their male counterparts.

These considerations give rise to the major tenet of career counseling with women. This tenet proposes that, *despite basic similarities, the career development of women is more complex than that of men*. This complexity is due mainly to the effect of the woman's socialization process, the ubiquitous expectation that all women will or should engage in child rearing, and the concomitant notion that child rearing is antithetical to, or takes precedence over, career involvement. Severe conflict is engendered in women by these considerations. The process is further complicated by the existence of discrimination in selection, promotion, and compensation, sexual harassment in the work place, and a host of other "real world" factors beyond the scope of the present chapter; a thorough discussion of such issues can be found in Fitzgerald and Betz (1983).

Given the foregoing discussion, the rest of this chapter will present a systematic approach to career counseling for use with the female client. It is based on a synthesis of the matching and developmental models and highlighted by a focus on the identification and resolution of sex-role conflict.

CAREER COUNSELING WOMEN: PRINCIPLES

All counseling and psychotherapy begin with some form of diagnosis. For career counseling with women, a useful approach to diagnosis can be extrapolated from Super's (1957) tripartite appraisal system. Super suggests that the counselor and the client cooperate in an active attempt to develop a thorough picture of the client's characteristics and history (*person appraisal*), the problems that the client is having in career decision making (*problem appraisal*), and finally, the client's chances for success and satisfaction in each of her various options (*prognostic appraisal*).

Person appraisal involves the gathering of information concerning the client's interests and abilities, her educational background and attainment, socioeconomic status, family background, and present family circumstances. Less common, but critical to work with women, is the assessment of sex-role attitudes, in particular, the client's view of the home/career interface. Is she home or work oriented? Are her views traditional or nontraditional? This information is extremely important for a complete understanding of the client.

Once a clear picture of the client has been developed, it is then possible to make an appraisal of the problem. In the most general case, there are two basic problems that can occur in career decision making: *indecision* and *unrealism*. In other words, either the client is unable to make a choice or the choice that has been made is a poor one. A poor, or unrealistic, choice usually occurs when there is a lack of fit between the client's interests and/or abilities and those required or rewarded by the job. Clinical experience as well as formal research suggest that the most common situation is for women to make choices that are unrealistically *low*; that is, they select and enter careers for which they are overqualified in terms of ability (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980). Obviously, many bright young women who could become physicians become nurses instead, and many more who could complete law school become paralegals or legal secretaries. It is with these clients, labeled by Crites (1981) as *unfulfilled*, that the assessment and discussion of sex-role attitudes become most critical.

It is possible, of course, to have aspirations that are unrealistically high, rather than disproportionately low. Clinical experience suggests that this type of unrealism appears more often to characterize male clients. Among women, it is most often found in those clients who wish to return to work after an absence of many years devoted to family responsibilities. Returning women, as a group, appear characterized by a lack of self-confidence and assertiveness, at least in the beginning stages of their return. Some of these clients, however, angry at what they may construe as wasted years and determined to make up for what has been lost, initially select occupations for which they do not have the necessary ability. One example is that of a 43-year-old client who lost her husband to divorce, and with him, her standard of living, her security, and so forth. Finding the divorce proceedings, which were highly acrimonious and bitter, to be extremely painful and unfair, she determined to become an attorney to represent other women in similar situations. This was despite the fact that she had an IQ of 108 and a high school education that was 25 years old. The task of the counselor here was the delicate one of weaning her from an unrealistic choice through judicious reality testing, while at the same time taking care to support her burgeoning independence and self-esteem. With unrealistic clients, examining the attitudinal base for the client's decision is most important.

Finally, some women will report choices in which they lack any measured interest, a type of unrealism that has been labeled *coerced*, to indicate that these women are carrying out the wishes of others rather than their own. Again, the coerced client is more often male than female, no doubt due to the heavier pressure society places on the man to "follow in his father's footsteps." The therapeutic task here, whatever the sex of the client, is to assist clients to separate their own wishes from those of significant others, to clarify and consolidate the self-concept, and to move toward selecting a choice more congruent with that self-concept.

Not all "coerced" clients are coerced, in the sense described above. Another fairly common pattern is for clients to select careers based on extrinsic factors, such as status, salary, or the labor market, despite the fact that they are not at all interested in the training, tasks, or activities that are required. This pattern is reflected in the current "stampede" of students into computer-related and data processing fields. Although the influence of intrinsic versus extrinsic satisfiers on job satisfaction is not completely understood, it seems logical to explore the possibilities for career choice that combine both factors, rather than opting to blindly follow the lure of the current labor market. Even returning women or displaced homemakers with very little education and few skills usually have some options as to how to earn a living. Individuals vary in their preference for such basic dimensions as inside work versus outside work, people oriented versus solitary, and active versus sedentary. Assisting the client to review these preferences and select options results in a sense of choicefulness and control, often sadly lacking in women who feel at the mercy of current economic patterns to meet their most basic needs.

In contrast to these problems of unrealism, the *undecided* client is unable to specify any clear choice. She may have a choice but be uncertain that it is a good one. She may have multiple options that she is unable to narrow down. Most commonly, she may be totally unable to say what she wishes to do because she is completely undecided. It is important here for the counselor to determine whether this lack of decision is due merely to a lack of information concerning self or work. This is not uncommon for young people from rural backgrounds or returning women whose early marriages have truncated previous exploration. On the other hand is the condition of more pervasive *indecisiveness* (Goodstein, 1972; Crites, 1981) stemming from preexisting anxiety concerning the making of decisions. Women are particularly subject to this kind of indecisiveness, due to patterns of child rearing entailing overprotectiveness of the female child and the punishment of any kind of independent action. This condition is perpetuated in marriage, where the husband assumes the parental role of decision maker, resulting in pervasive anxiety concerning decision making, inability to commit to a choice for fear of being wrong or "stupid," and additional anxiety arising as a consequence of this inability. The appropriate treatment for indecisiveness consists of deconditioning the anxiety through pairing its stimulus, discussion of decision making, with the nonthreatening, accepting presence of the therapist. Only when the client is less anxious does the counselor begin to facilitate the actual decision-making process. In particular, many women require a permissive atmosphere and a great deal of acceptance to enable them to explore the possibilities of working at all, due to anxiety and guilt concerning the appropriateness of such behavior and the resulting role conflict.

In addition to some determination of the client's difficulty (e.g., unrealism, indecision, indecisiveness), problem appraisal should include an assessment of *how* the client is approaching the decision-making process. Is she active or passive? Can she be described as dependent or independent? Is she intrinsically or extrinsically motivated? Can she accurately assess herself and the world, select goals, plan their implementation, and solve problems that arise in the process? Counselors should note these indicators of the client's career maturity (Crites, 1978) in the problem appraisal.

Finally, after determining the *what* and *why* of the difficulty and assessing *how* the client is dealing with it, the counselor assesses outcomes (prognostic appraisal) by forecasting the client's chances of success and satisfaction. This includes predictions of how she will respond to counseling and an assessment of her probable adjustment to the discovered options. An outline for this tripartite vocational appraisal, adapted from Crites (1981) for work with women, appears in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Outline for Vocational Appraisal for Women. From Career Counseling (p. 121–123) _by J.O. Crites, 1981, New York: McGraw-Hill. Copyright 1981 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. Adapted by permission._

TITLE: ("Vocational Appraisal of ______________________________")

PERSONAL APPRAISAL (Description of the individual in terms of her psychological, sociological, and physical characteristics.)

Present Status and Functioning: (1) What is the client's level of general aptitude? What are her special aptitudes? Interests? Work-related needs (e.g., status, security, leadership) and personality characteristics (e.g., dominance, dependence, nurturance, autonomy)? What are her attitudes towards the role of women in society? Beliefs about family and career? Motherhood and career? What is her level of career salience (e.g., how important is working to her)? What are her attitudes towards nontraditional occupations? What is her educational background and achievement? Socioeconomic status? (2) How is the client adjusting to the various aspects of her environment, e.g., school, parents, husband, or boyfriend? What is her self-concept? Daily pattern of living (sleeping, eating, study, work, recreational habits)? What are the nature and quality of relationships with others? What is her general level of adjustment? What is her general sex-role orientation (traditional, nontraditional, androgynous)?

Developmental History: (1) Has the client had any significant illness that affected her psychosocial development, or left her with any special disability or handicap? (2) What is her family background? Intact- or single-parent home? Number, order, and sex of siblings? What were her family's attitudes towards the role of women? Did her mother work outside the home? If so, what did she do? What were the nature of her other role models? Did her father encourage her in vocational planning and pursuits? (3) Early interests and abilities (hobbies, sports, organizations, and so forth)? (4) Early vocational choices and plans? (5) School achievement and adjustment (grades, attitudes toward school, best- and least-liked subjects, favorite teachers, and so forth)? Any evidence of math-related anxiety? Fear of success?

PROBLEM APPRAISAL (Identification of the client's problem; assessment of strengths as well as weaknesses, for example, motivation to change self or assume responsibility for problem solution, adaptability and flexibility, assertiveness, equanimity and sense of humor, etc.).

Vocational Problem: (1) What is the client's problem, i.e., what is the differential diagnosis? Is she undecided, unrealistic, unfulfilled, or what? (2) What are her attitudes towards the choice process, e.g., how involved is she in the decision-making process? How does she perceive occupations, as ends in themselves, or as means to other ends? Is she willing to compromise? How does she reason through the problem of choice? Is

(Figure 2 continued)

she independent or dependent in her decision-making? (3) Evaluate whether the client's problem arises because of immaturity or because of some maladjustment. Does she simply not know how to choose an occupation, or is she conflicted to the extent that she cannot make the appropriate response? What role does sex-role conflict play in the problem?

Factors Related to Vocational Problem: (1) What part is played by the client's family in her choice problem? What is the role of her parents, boyfriend or husband, children, and so forth? (2) What is the relationship of her personality to her choice problem? (3) What other factors, such as financial resources, marriage plans, plans for child rearing, academic achievement, fear of success, and so forth, are relevant?

PROGNOSTIC APPRAISAL (Predictions about the client's future behavior in counseling or on the job).

Vocational Counseling: (1) Motivation: How well will the client respond to counseling? Will she work on the problem, or does she want the counselor to tell her what to do? Why did she apply for counseling, and what are her expectations of the process? Is the client seriously involved in the vocational choice process, or is she merely looking for "something to fall back on?" (2) Interview behavior: How will the client respond verbally? Will she talk readily or not? How will she relate to the counselor? Will she be dependent, aggressive, aloof, or what? (3) Goals and plans: What can be achieved with the client? Should the counselor give her test and occupational information, or also try to think through the career problem with the client? Should the counselor focus only upon the specific choice problem of the individual, or help the client learn how to solve other vocational problems that may occur in the future? Can the counseling be primarily vocational in nature, or should personal adjustment counseling precede a consideration of the individual's vocational problem? How can counseling best be implemented? What techniques should be used?

Vocational Adjustment: (1) Success: What occupations are within the client's capabilities? (2) Satisfaction: In which occupation is the client most likely to find satisfaction? What problems might her personality create for her on the job? (3) Is the client able to support herself financially if she wishes or finds it necessary to do so? What basic, salable skills does she have? (4) Contingencies: What factors might either facilitate or adversely affect the individual's future vocational adjustment if they occur? For example: marriage, husband's job transfer, children, new pregnancy, responsibility for aging parents, incompatible social life or obligations, home-career conflict, etc.

SUMMARY (A "thumbnail" sketch of the client that pulls together the various parts of the vocational appraisal).

CAREER COUNSELING WOMEN: PROCEDURES

Following the completion of the assessment phase, career counseling proper begins. Depending on the diagnosis made, treatment procedures will vary. Clients who are uncertain about their choices often need little more than validation that their plans are appropriate. Clients with no specifiable options will need to work their way through the entire process of assessment, decision making, and reality testing. Indecisive clients usually require longer term treatment of a more traditionally therapeutic nature, while unrealistic clients need to engage in reality testing and a possible redefinition of self and goals.

These procedures vary little from the traditional ones that counselors use successfully with male clients. It is in the treatment of sex-role definitions and conflict, currently unique to women, that innovative techniques are required. Three procedures that seem promising are: sex-role analysis, the upending of expectancies, and the definition and construction of need hierarchies.

Sex-role analysis, a technique borrowed from feminist therapy, is a method for focusing on the costs and benefits of fulfilling the traditional female role, versus choosing a more nontraditional role. For example, Rawlings and Carter (1977) suggest that the traditional ban on assertiveness, aggression, and power striving for women has the assumed benefits of being taken care of by men and shielded from the anxiety of competition and risk-taking. Yet it also results in the costs of feeling powerless, depending on fair play from others, and lacking the opportunity to develop confidence and determination. In contrast, these authors suggest that development of a full range of interpersonal skills and personal power results in greater satisfaction in personal and professional relationships, a sense of control over one's life, and self-respect. They also note that the costs of such a nontraditional approach include taking the risk of overt rejection from men and giving up the option of relying on others for protection.

Adapting this cost-and-benefit technique to career counseling with women is a relatively simple matter. Table 1 presents a comparative analysis of some costs and benefits of traditional and nontraditional career roles for an undecided female client with high-level ability and strong medical interests. This form of career/sex-role analysis can be extremely effective in a group or workshop context as well as in individual counseling. Although the procedure described above is extremely structured, a counselor can also use sex-role analysis by simply bringing unconscious sex-role expectations to the client's attention when appropriate. This less structured technique blends into that procedure that Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) have labeled "upending" the client's expectancies. The upending approach appears more appropriate for use with younger, less sophisticated clients or highly traditional women who might be threatened by the more powerful, straightforward sex-role analysis. The counselor can upend traditional role expectancies that often constitute competing response tendencies to appropriate career decision making by suggesting and reinforcing discussion of nontraditional options consistent with the client's interests and abilities. This is true not only for the high-ability, college-educated client, but for her lower-ability, less well-educated coun-

Table 1

A Comparative Analysis of Some Costs and Benefits of Homemaker, Traditional, and Nontraditional Career Roles

*Benefits**	*Costs*
Full-time homemaker (some volunteer hospital work; Gray Ladies)	
Economic security*; no pressure to achieve; being taken care of*; being shielded from competition and risk taking; not threatening to men; development of positive feminine qualities of nurturance, warmth, sympathy, etc.	Lack of training and skills; economic and emotional dependency; lack of control over one's life; feelings of powerlessness and low self-esteem.*
Nursing	
Economic self-sufficiency; possession of own social and professional status; self-respect and self-esteem; less threatening to men.	Great responsibility with little authority; still subordinate to men; low-status professional role; may be threatening to men; possibility of home/career conflict.
Physician	
Economic freedom and security; high social and professional status; full development of competencies and skills; self-respect and self-esteem; power and authority; development of qualities of agency as well as communion.	Pressure to achieve; competitive stress; risk of overt rejection from men; risk of home/career conflict.

**Benefits and costs that are starred are not guaranteed*; they are traditionally assumed to occur.

Note. From *Psychotherapy for Women* (p. 68–69) by E.I. Rawlings and D.K. Carter (Eds.), 1977, Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas. Copyright 1977 by Charles C Thomas. Adapted by permission.

terpart as well. There are many technical, skilled, or semiskilled jobs traditionally performed by men that require no more ability than the low-level clerical jobs traditionally performed by women; yet, these positions are much better compensated in salary, benefits, and status. Some forms of police work, the military, and automobile and computer sales are only a few of the occupational areas that probably would never be considered without the counselor's changing the client's frame of reference.

Harmon (1977) noted the value of Maslow's need hierarchy for analyzing and understanding the sometimes contradictory behavior of female clients. She notes that the basic needs (physiological and safety needs) tend to be fulfilled differently by women and men. Men meet these needs directly through their own labor, whereas women more often gratify these needs through their association with someone else. For example, a husband's or father's labor assures that her needs for food and shelter will be met and her environment will be safe. Harmon further states that there is a good deal of conflict involved for women in meeting their higher order needs for self-esteem and self-actualization. Those who reach beyond the typical woman's job (secretary, nurse, or teacher) are risking the loss of belongingness, love, and esteem. Women are not always loved for their successes, particularly if they are of a nontraditional sort; thus, women may have to trade self-esteem in order to receive esteem and love from others. Harmon points out that most career counseling deals mainly with the gratification of higher-order needs and that many women may not be prepared for such career counseling. Until a woman is meeting her basic subsistence needs *through her own efforts* and has addressed the conflict issues between sex-role expectations and self-esteem needs, she will not be able to address the question, "What will make me happy and allow me to grow as a person?" Harmon suggests that counselors determine where the client is on Maslow's hierarchy, understand how she got there, and develop a plan for treatment appropriate to that level.

CAREER COUNSELING WOMEN: PROBLEMS

Career counseling with women is a complex process involving careful appraisal and diagnosis, combined with the necessity for innovative treatment techniques. In addition, other difficulties, both technical and psychological, combine to make the counseling process a highly challenging one. These problems are the focus of the following section.

Inadequacies of Measurement and Informational Techniques

The problems of counseling the traditional female client are the same as those posed by any client with premature closure (a client who has selected an unrealistic occupation without sufficient information gathering and reality testing). The task is for the counselor to engage the client in further exploration. Unfortunately, the principal technical aids to career counseling, interest inventories and occupational information materials, have been constructed to reinforce the premature closure of the female client rather than to encourage further exploration. Until relatively recently, there were separate interest inventories for men and women. Those for women compared the clients' interests only to those of women in the traditional "women's" occupations. More recently, such inventories have been combined with those designed for men, thus reducing the more blatant forms of stereotyping. However, many problems remain. Sex differences in the base rates of item endorsement combined with inadequate or inappropriate norm groups often ensure that the results from these instruments continue to suggest the familiar, traditional occupations to women.

Although the technical arguments continue, the most appropriate practice seems to be selecting interest inventories that provide *same-sex norms* and a wide range of occupational options for both sexes. The Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory, Kuder Occupational Interest Survey (Form DD), and the Career Assessment Inventory (technical/semi-skilled level) meet these criteria. In addition, sex-balanced measures of *basic* interests may be less limiting than those that inventory occupational interests. Examples of such inventories are the UNIACT Interest Inventory and the Vocational Interest Inventory (VII). Finally, some highly innovative, unstructured techniques are available (i.e., the Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort, Dewey, 1974). A brief description of these inventories including a principal reference or source for each appears in Table 2.

In addition to sex bias in interest inventories, counselors have been faced with the problem of inadequate and highly stereotyped materials of occupational information. Although this situation appears to be improving considerably, the problem is often a subtle one. Counselors are

Table 2

Vocational Interest Inventories Recommended for Use with Women

Name/Source	*Description*
Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII) (4th ed.) Authors: Jo-Ida C. Hansen & David P. Campbell Publisher: Consulting Psychologists Press	Yields scores on basic and occupational interests, with same-sex, cross-sex, and combined norms. All scores are classified into Holland categories. The inventory is useful mainly for clients with professional-level interests.
Career Assessment Inventory (CAI) Author: Charles Johanssen Publisher: NCS Interpretive Scoring Systems 4491 W. 76 Street Minneapolis, MN 55435	Similar in format, content, and scoring to the SCII, this instrument is designed for clients at the semi-skilled, technical, and semi-professional levels. Utilizes combined-sex occupational norm groups.
Kuder Occupational Interest Survey—DD (Revised) (KOIS) Author: G. Frederick Kuder Publisher: Science Research Associates, Inc. 155 N. Wacker Drive Chicago, IL 60606	Yields scores on occupational and college major scales based on separate sex norms. Scores are listed in order of strength of interests. Covers both professional and nonprofessional occupations.

UNI-ACT Hanson, G., Prediger, G., & Schussel, R. (1977). *Development and validation of sex-balanced interest inventory scales.* (ACT Research Report No. 78.) Iowa City, IA: American College Testing Program. Prediger, D., & Hansen, G. (1978). Must interest inventories provide males and females with divergent vocational guidance? *Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance, 11,* 88–98.	A 90-item inventory composed of six basic interest scales that are sex-balanced at the item level. Yields Holland theme scores.
Vocational Interest Inventory (VII) Author: P. W. Lunneborg Publisher: Western Psychological Services 12031 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90025	A 112-item inventory in a forced-choice format. The VII is constructed to eliminate sex differences at the item level, and its scores (basic interests classified according to Roe's system) are thus standardized on a mixed-sex sample.
Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort (NSVCS) (unpublished) Dewey, C. R. (1974). Exploring interests: A non-sexist method. *Personnel and Guidance Journal, 52,* 311–315.	An unstructured vocational interest exploration that yields occupations for clients to consider, and clinically derived constructs that underlie occupational likes and dislikes. Occupations are classified by Holland codes.

urged to counteract it through use of the more active forms of information gathering (i.e., interviewing) to supplement stereotyped materials.

Client Socialization

One of the most difficult and frustrating problems for career counselors is that many female clients refuse to engage in meaningful career exploration. This is particularly true for young women. Even when confronted with strong evidence of their ability, along with information indicating that the average American woman will spend 20 years in the work place (most often because of financial necessity), these women reject careers and opt instead to marry and rear children. This leads to frustration for the counselor who believes in self-determination and the responsibility of the client for her own decisions, but knows that it is not in anyone's best interest to be totally economically dependent on the good will and good health of another person. Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) concluded that the notion of free will and self-determination is not meaningful when the client has been so thoroughly socialized. Similarly, they note that high-minded distress over the supposed ethical implications of the counselor's "imposing" his or her value system seems misplaced. All counseling and psychotherapy involve intervention in the client's value system as a necessary element of treatment. The question, then, is not so much *whether* to intervene, but *how* to most effectively do so. Although some procedures have been described above and others are outlined in the references, it often seems that the best that can be done for many young women is "damage control." In other words, the counselor attempts to ensure that they acquire some salable skill or ability, however unsuited to their interests and talents—the old notion of "having something to fall back on." Secretarial skills or dental assisting have supported many returning women through college as well as law school, medical school, and graduate training in nuclear physics! The counselor must attempt to ensure that the client is able to meet her basic needs on her own, should she ever be ready, or required, to do so.

Counselor Bias

A more subtle barrier to effective work with the female client is often presented by the counselor her/himself. No less than others, counselors have been socialized by the cultural milieu of our time. A large body of research has accumulated indicating that career counselors have strongly reinforced traditional career paths for women, even when the clients' interests and abilities indicated that such paths were unrealistic. Even more discouraging are data indicating that counselors have actively discouraged nontraditional career choices while strongly upholding the notion that marriage/motherhood and meaningful career involvement are mutually exclusive options. It is important that female counselors resolve their own sex-role conflict so they can serve as appropriate role models as well as care givers. The universality of sex-role conflict for women implies that judicious sharing of one's own reactions and feelings can be a powerful agent of validation and support for change for the client. On the other hand, male counselors who have worked through their own reactions to changing sex roles can assist the client by granting permission to explore beyond the traditional boundaries without losing the approval from a significant male figure. Also, the modeling of an egalitarian, cooperative relationship between the male counselor and female client can have a facilitative effect on her personal as well as career development.

Counselors with strongly traditional sex-role attitudes probably should not attempt to do career counseling with women. Sex-role bias is one of the strongest and most visceral of prejudices. It seems impossible that it would not result in a limitation rather than facilitation, of client growth. Counselors who are interested in exploring and expanding their sex-role awareness are urged to read, participate in training groups, and experiment with personal life styles.

SUMMARY

Something which goes widely unrecognized by psychologists who do career counseling, and particularly by those who don't, is the strong therapeutic effect that such counseling has on the client's general adjustment. Crites (1981) noted that even fairly traditional trait-and-factor career counseling significantly increased personal adjustment as indexed by the discrepancy between self and ideal-self Q-sorts. It is not surprising that this should be so, as work is our principal point of contact with reality, and it constitutes a deeply personal statement about who, and what, we are. In career counseling with women, more than with any other form of intervention, is taken for granted the dictum, "All that one can be, one must be, in order to be happy."

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CHAPTER 10

Adult Men's Career Transitions and Gender-Role Themes

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A man's view of career gender roles is central to his personal identity, self-esteem, and developmental change. Many men experience career transitions that prompt redefinition of their gender roles and masculine values. Some men strive to demonstrate their success. Others try to avoid seeming feminine, but harbor fears about their femininity. Many men have difficulty recognizing the transitional nature of their gender and career roles. Some resist change, fearing losses of power and status. Many men experience difficulty with transitions and need special assistance maneuvering life's unpredictable events.

This chapter investigates the interaction of men's gender roles and career transitions. Hansen (1984) recommended an analysis of how gender and career processes interact. No collective analysis of men's gender role themes and career transitions has emerged in career psychology. Empirical research on career and gender role transitions is quite scarce due to limited concepts to explain what transitions mean to men. Career development theory can expand its framework by examining how masculinity and femininity are driving forces in people's lives. Currently, few concepts describe how adult, career, and gender role development run parallel courses over the life span. The purpose of this chapter is to define, describe, and delineate men's career transitions and gender role themes.

The essence of this chapter can be summarized in the following way. Men: (a) redefine their career and gender role identities over the life cycle; (b) experience numerous career transitions; (c) struggle with gender role themes during career transitions; (d) experience gender role conflict during career transitions from career socialization and fears of femininity; (e) experience gender role devaluation, restriction, and violation during career transitions. Many of these assumptions are applicable to women but our focus is exclusively on men.

The chapter makes numerous assumptions about how gender and career interact in men's lives (Hansen, 1984). Foremost, we suggest that knowledge of gender socialization over the life cycle is essential for counseling men in career transition. It is important for counselors to be familiar with how men learn their masculine values over the life span. This includes recognizing how men may be threatened by their femininity and fear ridicule if they deviate from masculine norms and standards. Second, we assume that by identifying men's career transitions, greater understanding of men's gender role conflicts and strains can be gained. Third, we propose that men's career transitions are best understood by identifying gender role themes that can negatively affect the transitions. Fourth, we posit that men can experience gender role change during their career transitions. Therefore, knowledge of gender role themes is essential for helping men redefine their career goals and personal self-concepts. As men change over the life cycle, they may ask significant questions about the meaning of their masculinity and femininity (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). These questions emerge from early gender role socialization as well as from a man's beliefs about what is appropriate masculinity. Fifth, we assume that men experience emotional feelings of devaluation, restriction, and violation during career transitions and as they redefine gender role themes over the life span. Finally, we assume that career transitions and gender role themes can be assessed during career counseling and psychotherapy.

This chapter has numerous sections that expand on the above assumptions. The first three sections define transition, briefly review adult and career development theory, and enumerate 22 career transitions in men's lives. These transitions provide practitioners with a comprehensive list of critical events that can change the meaning of a man's career and self-concept. Sections 4–9 define gender role conflict and discuss men's career socialization as interacting with 15 gender role themes. Furthermore, these themes and conflicts are described as having specific emotional effects on men. Finally, an illustrative case study of Mr. Throck Morton's career transitions is provided to elucidate the chapter's concepts. Implications of the case study and chapter themes for practitioners are made.

ADULT DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSITIONS: FOUNDATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING CHANGING MEN

Counseling adult men requires background in adult development theory and life transitions. There are substantial bodies of knowledge and conceptual frameworks to intervene with men in transitions. Although theory has grown faster than empirical data, there is a rich theoretical base in adult development to understand life cycle changes.

A complete analysis of adult development themes is beyond the scope of this chapter. Yet, certain themes provide a foundation for our analysis. First, adult development is continuous and results from multiple influences of biological, psychological, and environmental determinants (Danish, 1981). Second, changes are rarely smooth, ongoing, and related. There can be varying degrees of stress and strain throughout adulthood

(Hopson, 1981; Schlossberg, 1984; Gould, 1978; Brammer & Abrego, 1981; Offer & Sabshin, 1984; Lowenthal, Thurnher, & Chiriboga, 1975). Third, responding to life cycle events requires personal adaptation and flexibility. Many times new self-assumptions and behavioral repertories are needed to meet the demands of new situations (Schlossberg, 1984; Brammer & Abrego, 1981; Gould, 1978; Troll, 1981; Parkes, 1971; Brim, 1976; Brim & Ryff, 1980; Moos & Tsu, 1976; Hopson & Adams, 1977). Fourth, career and gender roles changes in adulthood are continuous and require self introspection, assertiveness, and coping skills (Levinson et al., 1978; Brammer & Abrego; Super, 1957; Vaillant, 1977).

Transition, as a theoretical construct, has become a dominant theme in life-span psychology and adult development literature (Brammer & Abergo, 1981; Brim, 1976; Hopson & Adams, 1977; Levinson et al., 1978; Lowenthal et al., 1975; Schlossberg, 1981, 1984; Vaillant, 1977). Schlossberg (1981; 1984) has developed a thorough conceptualization of adults in transition. She defines a transition as "an event or nonevent that results in a change in assumption about oneself and the world and thus requires a corresponding change in one's behavior and relationships" (Schlossberg, 1981, p. 5). Transitions are part of human development and include changes in values, world views, and personal appearance. Few individuals escape these transitions and many experience them as painful life adjustments. There are gains and losses in stamina, life structures, and personal dreams. Two transitional areas identified for adults are career development and gender role development. Each will be defined and discussed in subsequent sections of the chapter.

ADULT CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND GENDER ROLES

The theory, research, and practice in career psychology has been primarily focused on adolescents rather than older adults (Campbell & Heffernan, 1983; Harmon & Farmer, 1983; Srebalus, Marinelli, & Messing, 1982). Theories of adult development over the life span have yet to be fully integrated with career development concepts. Harmon and Farmer indicated that the ". . . adult stages and transitions have some rather obvious applications to vocational behavior, but most of them are not even well established, let alone integrated in the theories of vocational behavior" (p. 49). Efforts to describe the stages of career development have been evident in the literature (Ginsberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951; Miller & Form, 1951; Super, 1957). Adult career development has been most notably defined by Super's (1957) developmental theory. Super proposed stages of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. Other concepts in Super's theory described the processes of choosing, implementing, and terminating careers (Super, 1980; 1984). More recently, there has been increased literature on adult career development (Brown, 1984; Campbell & Cellini, 1981; Herr & Cramer, 1979; Osipow, 1983). Campbell & Heffernan have written the most substantive synthesis of adult vocational behavior by reviewing Erikson, Havighurst, Levinson, et al., Miller and Form, Super, and Schein. Their synthesis produced four major phases of the career development cycle including:

(1) preparation for an occupation and obtaining a job; (2) demonstration of competence in and adjustment to a new work environment; (3) maintenance or advancement of one's position in an established occupation; and (4) decline in involvement with the work place. These stages were named preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement, and are consistent with Super & Hall's (1978) synthesis. The utility of these career development stages lies in their capacity to describe career movement as a continuous, ongoing process. What has not been systematically identified are the specific transitions that collectively fall in the stages described by Super (1957), Super and Hall, and Campbell and Heffernan. These transitions are to be described in later sections of the chapter.

Gender roles were discussed in nearly every sector of society in the 1970s. Most of the discussion emerged from the feminist and women's movements and focused on the limitations of current theories and on how gender role stereotypes prohibited women's entry into a wide variety of careers. During the 1970s there was a published text on women's career development (Osipow, 1975), and numerous authors theorized that gender roles affected women's career decision making (Farmer, 1976; Harmon, 1977; O'Neil, Meeker, & Borgers, 1978; Vetter, 1973). More recently, Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) have summarized much of the literature on career psychology of women and Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) have completed the most extensive review of women's gender and career roles. Other authors have provided theoretical insights (Farmer, 1985; Gottfredson, 1981; Hansen, 1984), and practical suggestions have been made for career counseling with women (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1979; Hotchkiss & Borow, 1984; Richardson, 1979).

Overall, the current literature on gender roles and career development has been focused on women, whereas men's gender roles have been a neglected area of research. Morgan, Skovholt, and Orr (1979) indicated that "career counseling theories, being by necessity general explanations of career behavior, have nothing specific to say about the special problems of men" (p. 263). There is a need for more comprehensive frameworks to view men's career and gender role transitions over the life cycle. These frameworks need to be based on what is known about career transitions, to which we now turn.

MEN'S CAREER TRANSITIONS IDENTIFIED

Given the many changes in a man's career, there is a need to identify and define the transitions that affect a man's career identity. Career transitions are defined as events or nonevents in the career development process that cause changes in the status or meaning of the career (O'Neil & Fishman, 1985a). The transition process may be initiated by events or nonevents resulting in changed assumptions about oneself and the world and thus requiring a corresponding change in one's career behavior and relationships (Schlossberg, 1981; 1984). Career transitions can emanate from external events as well as internal or personal dynamics. They usually result in some change in the man's status, roles, and responsibilities. These changes offer opportunities for renewal and growth, but loss, stagnation, and failure can occur also. Most career transitions are "high stake" experiences because they affect economic, familial, and psychological dimensions of the person.

An analysis of career transitions by Super (1957) still remains the most complete treatise on career transitions available. Extending Super's work, Table 1 lists and defines 21 career transitions of adult men. The transitions are listed on the left and each is operationally defined on the right. The transitions extend over the stages of career development, but are not completely exhaustive.

Table 1

Summary of Career Transitions of Adult Men

Career Transitions	*Definitions*
(1) Initial Career Choice	First decision about career area to pursue
(2) Obtaining Skill Development/Training	Obtaining expertise in career or job area
(3) First Job	Initial work pursued after training or education
(4) Career Advancement (new job)	Promotion in career choice with new responsibilities
(5) Career Change	Decision to pursue a different career
(6) Loss of Interest or Meaning in Career	Career and work loses its intrinsic value and status
(7) Serious Conflicts with Supervisor, Colleagues, or Work Setting	Continuous and severe difficulties with co-workers, supervisor, or setting resulting in stress and strain
(8) Being Fired or Unemployed	Losing your job
(9) Rapid Success	Back-to-back accomplishments over short period of time
(10) Rapid Failure	Back-to-back diminishments or defeats
(11) Rapid Income Loss	Quick loss in money earned
(12) Demotion	Being reduced to a lower grade or rank
(13) Leveling off—Job Peaking	Not being promoted to the next highest level or achieving the highest level possible
(14) Working with Women	Interaction with women as subordinates, supervisors, or peers

(15) Burnout	Fatigue and loss of interest in work because of overwork, role overload, and unhappiness
(16) Loss of Mentor	Relationship change with person who has sponsored and supported your career
(17) Becoming a Mentor	Taking on role of resource, sponsor, and transitional figure for another person entering a career
(18) Lost Career Dream or Goal	Recognition that ultimate career aspiration is not attainable
(19) Aging, Loss of Stamina and Endurance	Decreasing energy to perform in career role
(20) Preretirement	Period of time when plans for retirement are made
(21) Retirement	Period of time when formal work career ends

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Reviewing these 21 career transitions, it is evident they span Super and Hall's (1978) and Campbell and Heffernan's (1983) career stages of preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement. Many of these transitions could be experienced in more than one of Super's stages. Therefore, the transitions cannot be assigned to any age or stage contingent on any career, gender, or adult development theory. Career transitions do not necessarily occur in a smooth continuous pattern, but rather are experienced differentially by each man. Additionally, a man's experience of these transitions depends on his personal perception of the change and his coping resources.

Numerous transitions found in Table 1 (1, 3, 19, 20, 21) result from the age and physical characteristics of the man. Some have the potential for increasing men's career satisfaction (4, 5, 9, 17) whereas others are clearly threatening or adverse (8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15). Many transitions (2, 6, 7, 14, 16, 17, 18) have more moderate psychological implications that parallel normal developmental changes. A number of transitions (7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 17) affect work or family relationships in significant ways. In some cases, the absence of a transition occurring may indicate a problem area for the man (1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 17).

These 21 career transitions may signal areas in a client's life where career stresses and strains predictably occur. As such, these career transitions are viewed as normative career events that may shift a client into a state of disequilibrium. The extent to which these career transitions are perceived as positive or negative relates to the individual's capacity to make new career and personal adjustments. Almost all transitions place demands on men that result in stresses and strains. Each situation calls for varying degrees of adaptation and different coping mechanisms.

All the transitions can result in men's redefining themselves and their worlds.

The transitions in Table 1 provide counseling practitioners with some typical male career transitions. Many of these transitions have direct relevance for women across the life cycle. Practitioners can use the list to assess a client's transitional situations. By discussing the series of career transitions with a client, emphasis can be placed on discovering the unique meaning of each transition. The recently developed Career Transitions Checklist (CTC; O'Neil & Fishman, 1985b) is a simple means of helping clients and adults assess their past, present, and future transitions. Although this instrument needs empirical research and development, it puts into operation the concepts in Table 1.

GENDER ROLES AND GENDER ROLE CONFLICT

The career transitions specified above are not usually experienced separately from a man's gender role identity. Gender roles are behaviors, expectations, and role sets defined by society as masculine or feminine that are embodied in the behavior of the individual man or woman and culturally regarded as appropriate to men or women (O'Neil, 1981a; 1981b; 1982). These roles are learned through gender role socialization and change with the demands of adulthood and aging (Moreland, 1979; 1980). Gender role conflict is a psychological state where gender roles have negative consequences or impact on the person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's human potential or the restriction of someone else's potential. Gender role conflict occurs when rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles, learned during socialization, result in the personal restriction or devaluation of others or self (O'Neil, 1981a; 1981b; 1982). One outcome of gender role conflict is gender role strain. This occurs when mental or physical tension is experienced as a result of the expectations and norms of masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. Garnets and Pleck (1979) operationally define sex-role strain "as a discrepancy between the real self and that part of the ideal self-concept that is culturally associated with gender" (p. 278). They believe that sex-role strain is an intrapsychic process that can lead to poor psychological adjustment, particularly low self-esteem. It is hypothesized that inflexible sex-role norms set standards that do not allow people to freely express themselves (Komarovsky, 1976).

There seem to be four ways to conceptualize gender role conflict that provide categories for assessment (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, in press). First, gender role conflict can be experienced as a cognition—how we think about gender roles and aspects of our masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. Second, gender role conflict can be experienced as affect—how we feel about gender roles and conflicts within ourselves and those of others. Third, gender role conflict can be experienced as behavior—how we act, respond, and relate to ourselves. Fourth, gender role conflict can be experienced as an unconscious and intrapsychic phenomenon. This implies that some gender role conflicts are repressed and beyond our conscious awareness. How we think, feel, and behave because of gender roles is a useful parameter to assess gender role conflict in adulthood.

There has been no comprehensive analysis of gender role conflicts that emerge for men during career transitions. Much of a man's perception of his masculine identity is governed by the development of his career. For counselors to understand men's gender role conflict, it is necessary to recognize the values of the "masculine mystique" that men internalize during career socialization. From this knowledge, the gender role themes can be identified and used with men experiencing career and gender role changes.

MEN'S GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION: THE MASCULINE MYSTIQUE AND FEARS OF FEMININITY

Masculine Mystique and Value System

Gender role socialization and notions of masculinity and femininity directly affect men's career and gender role transitions. A comprehensive analysis of how men are socialized and the effects of family, environment, and biology are beyond the scope of this chapter and are found elsewhere (Basow, 1980; Money, 1980; O'Neil, 1981a, 1982; Parsons, 1980; Schaffer, 1981; Tavris & Offir, 1977; Weitz, 1977). Of greatest importance is the notion that there are expected male norms and values that typify American manhood. We call the complex set of values and beliefs that define appropriate masculinity in our society the masculine mystique and value system. These values are based on rigid stereotypes and beliefs about men, masculinity, and femininity. A complete delineation of these values and assumptions has been published elsewhere (Farrell, 1974; O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982).

Overall, the masculine mystique and value system implies that: (a) men are superior to women and masculinity is superior to femininity; (b) power, control, and dominance are essential to prove one's masculinity; (c) emotions, feelings, vulnerability, and intimacy are to be avoided because they are feminine; (d) career and economic successes are measures of one's masculinity. These masculine values are part of men's socialization and have negative consequences for men, women, and children. These values violate women because they devalue women's feminine attitudes, values, and behaviors. They violate children because they create rigid expectations that can limit the free expression of a child's personality and potential. They violate men by denying them the opportunity to express their feminine aspects, therefore restricting their range of emotional and behavioral expression. Failure to accept these values or live them out can produce self-devaluation or punishment from others. Mayer (1978) suggested that these values may contribute to men's self-destruction at midlife. In varying degrees, the masculine mystique and value system devalues femininity, overvalues masculinity (acts of hypermasculinity), and produces fears about a man's femininity.

Fears of Femininity

One unifying theme that results from the masculine mystique and value system is the fear of femininity (Farrell, 1974; O'Neil, 1981b, 1982; O'Neil, David, & Wrightsman, 1985; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, in press). The fear of femininity is defined as a strong negative emotion associated with feminine values, attitudes, and behaviors. These emotional reactions are learned primarily in early childhood when gender identity is being formed by parents, peers, and societal values. Men's fears of their feminine aspects and of women have been noted in the theoretical literature for many years (Hays, 1964; Horney, 1967; Jung, 1953, 1954; Lederer, 1968; Menninger, 1970). Most of these analyses rely upon a psychodynamic foundation. Jung's archetype in men, the anima, is a well-known concept that is relevant to men's difficulty in integrating their feminine aspects. More recently, Levinson et al. (1978), in their case study of 40 men, found that these men not only neglected or repressed their feminine aspects of self, but also regarded their feminine aspects as dangerous.

When a man fears his feminine aspects, he really fears that others will see him as stereotypically and negatively feminine (weak, dependent, submissive) rather than positively masculine. Being considered "a wimp" by others is the worst fear possible. This is not an unreasonable fear because femininity is subordinated, depreciated, and maligned in our hypermasculine society. Men who express their feminine aspects fear they will be restricted, devalued, and violated by others. The cost of showing stereotypic feminine qualities can be disrespect, failure, and emasculation. These are high costs for a man who wants to fulfill the masculine mystique over the life cycle.

MEN'S CAREER AND GENDER ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Hansen (1984) provided the most cogent analysis of how gender and career interact. Her analysis indicates that gender continuously affects men and women over the life span. She indicates that "at the heart of issues of gender and career is the sex-role system, which is the network of attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that result from the pervasiveness of sex-role stereotyping in the culture." (p. 218). The masculine mystique and value system and fear of femininity described earlier are central to the sex-role system that Hansen describes. For the most part, specific information on the male sex-role system has not been specified in career psychology but has emanated from the men's literature. A more focused analysis of the masculine career and gender role socialization has been identified elsewhere (O'Neil, 1981a, 1982; O'Neil & Fishman, 1985a). Below is a summary of assumptions made about men's gender-career socialization synthesized from the men's literature. These assumptions are not absolute truths or ways to categorize all men. Clearly, there are individual, class, race, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences affecting the validity of these assumptions for each man.

Men are socialized to work by families, peers, and schools (Bucher, 1976; Fasteau, 1974; Goldberg, 1977; Olson, 1978) to be competitive, achievement-oriented, and competent (Bucher; Crites & Fitzgerald, 1978; Olson, 1978). Due to gender role stereotypes, many men incorrectly interpret male and female sex differences as dictating different career options for each sex. Men also learn that measures of their masculinity are calculated by success, achievement, and ascendancy up the career ladder (Bucher; David & Brannon, 1976; Nichols, 1975; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974). In other words, men learn that manhood and masculinity are contingent on becoming a career success (Fasteau; Goldberg; Tolson, 1977). Many men look to work as the primary way to define personal and self worth (Bucher; Morgan et al., 1970; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Skovholt, 1978). Furthermore, men learn that being masculine and achieving career success involves becoming competitive, powerful, and in control of self and the environment (Nichols). Men are concerned that others will critically evaluate their masculinity based on their career success, achievement, power, and control (David & Brannon). When some men marry they may expect exclusive rights to the breadwinner or career role unless it is economically necessary for their wives to work (Goldberg). Many men are socialized to believe that they will earn security and happiness by hard work, success, and achievement (David & Brannon; Nichols). Sometimes they seek personal rewards and goals that cannot be met in their work (Mayer, 1978). Many times when these rewards do not emerge, men work harder, believing that this will yield the desired outcomes of status, security, and success. Faced with stiff competition, unmet goals, and uncooperative work situations, men may experience fear of failure, low self-esteem, and emotional crises. Unresolved career issues related to achievement, power, success, and competition may be part of unresolved masculinity issues or vice versa. Fearing emasculation, some men work so hard to demonstrate success that they neglect important relationships with spouses, friends, and children (Goldberg). All of these stresses can culminate in overwork, fatigue, and marital discord, posing serious threats to the man's physical and psychological health (Goldberg; Mayer; O'Neil, 1981b).

GENDER AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT: AN INTERACTIVE AND DEFINITIONAL PROCESS

The above analysis of men's carrer and gender socialization highlights a central reality: Men's career and gender role development is rarely smooth, is often quite demanding, and ultimately can produce stress and strain. Moreover, gender role development and career development run parallel courses over the life cycle. The development of a career and gender identity is a process of negotiation and renegotiation within self and with others. A man's perception of his gender identity and his career identity is difficult to separate. Both identities operate simultaneously and determine choices, changes, and transitions. Additionally, career and gender role changes have interactive qualities. Changes in a person's view of their gender roles affect their view of their career possibilities and vice versa. Each man develops adaptive or nonadaptive coping mechanisms to respond to the changes over the life cycle.

For most men, career and gender role values change with age and experience. In other words, men experience their career and gender role change as a definitional process. For some men, as the limitations of the masculine mystique become apparent, masculinity and femininity become redefined. For other men, the limitations of the masculine mystique are not readily apparent, and they struggle with unidentified feelings of discontent as years progress. When masculinity does not become redefined, men may cling to traditional male values. Gender role and career change may be precipitated by new adult roles including those of husband, parent, or mentor. Redefinition may also occur during personal crises, losses, or prolonged illnesses. Those men who are not flexible in their gender role behaviors may fail to cope effectively with changing life events.

May times the redefinition process is experienced on a vague, existential level *before there is any attitudinal or behavioral change. Gender role* redefinition is not readily discernible to most clients or counselors. When the artificiality of masculine stereotypes can be recognized, the limitations of sex-typed behavior can be explored. For many men, there is a yearning for more in-depth meaning that the narrow masculine world can provide. Usually, there is a need to redefine one's masculinity at home and at work.

This redefinition process is done with varying degrees of success, stress, and strain. Men who alter their masculine views of self and their worlds confront established values that have stablized their lives for years. It is difficult to change values that have guided one's existence, even when the values no longer provide a sense of meaning or vitality. Additionally, gender role and career reevaluations are undertaken in a capitalist world that continues to employ stereotypes of masculinity to reward men and keep the system operating. The external career world persists in rewarding men for being masculine. Yet, internal processes within the man may provoke serious reevaluation of gender role themes and life options.

GENDER ROLE TRANSITIONS AND THEMES

Gender role transitions are events or nonevents in a person's gender role development process stimulating changes in gender values and self-assumptions. These transitions occur when there are demonstrations, reevaluations, and integrations of masculinity and femininity over the life span. The *demonstration* of masculinity is central to the formation of a functional gender identity. For men, demonstrating one's masculinity is accomplished by striving for power, control, achievement, and success. Later in adulthood, *reevaluation* of masculine and feminine values may occur. This reevaluation may inspire questions about the limit of one's masculinity, and feminine values may seem more acceptable. The reevaluation of gender role values includes an assessment and redefinition of the man's feelings, thoughts, and behaviors about masculinity and femininity. *Integration* of both masculine and feminine values can occur if the man is able to reconcile previous socialization with new definitions of gender. These integrations may be in conjunction with developmental growth and the acceptance of new roles and responsibilities. The demonstration, reevaluation, and integration of masculine and feminine values may occur during crises, critical points, or during the normal maturation process. Role transitions may produce confusion, anxiety, and despair. Yet, these transitions can also open up internal aspects of the man, expanding his self-definition and promoting personal exploration and growth.

Personal changes and modifications in gender role values are not completed in a vacuum. They are experienced in the context of certain gender role transition themes. A gender role transition theme is defined as a developmental and human issue involving the demonstration, reevaluation, or integration of masculinity or femininity. What are the themes that men struggle with during career and gender role transitions? What themes need to be demonstrated, reevaluated, and finally integrated? What themes produce gender role conflict and strain?

Table 2 lists and defines 15 gender role transition themes that relate to men's career transitions. Each of these themes can involve the demonstration of the values of the masculine mystique or the reevaluation/integration of masculinity and femininity. Any of the gender role transition themes can affect the 21 career transitions found in Table 1. Consequently, the gender role themes have the potential to alter a man's view of himself, his career, and his world.

Several of the gender role transition themes from Table 2 may be reevaluated. Themes 1–3 (success, achievement, and competence) may be redefined as men enter the career maintenance stage. The limits of gender role themes 4–7 (control, power, competition, and strength) may become more apparent as men struggle to validate their masculine values from the limited domain of economic and career success. Changes in work situations whereby men feel restricted or constrained can affect a man's sense of personal worth (theme 8) and produce worries about his capacity to fulfill the provider role (theme 9). Themes 10 and 11 (personal communication and women's work role) may become problematic if the man is unable to recognize the artificiality of rigid masculine norms and values. Changes in roles such as themes 12 and 13 (fatherhood or mentoring) may demand new skills and greater interpersonal sensitivity. Finally, changes in body functions and aging (theme 14) may mean less energy and stamina, and health care issues (theme 15) may become dominant during the later years as retirement approaches.

Each man will struggle with different themes depending on his situation, coping styles, and gender role values. Most men will modify to some degree their self-concepts and work values. Changes in meaning are rarely sudden and usually emerge slowly over the years. Many times the redefinition of these themes and the integration of new notions of masculinity-femininity occur through the internal questions men struggle to answer. Some examples of the personal inquiries and themes men examine are:

1. What is success and is it worth all the strain?
2. Is power and control really that important to me?
3. If I redefine power, control, and competition, will I be able to be an effective man?

Table 2

Gender Role Transition Themes Affecting Men's Career Development

Gender Role Transition Themes	*Definitions*
1. Success	1. Attaining wealth, favor, or eminence
2. Achievement	2. Successful completion and accomplishment brought about by resolve, persistence, or endeavor
3. Competence	3. Having adequate ability, qualities, and capacity to function in a particular way
4. Control	4. Regulating, restraining, and having people or situations under one's command
5. Power	5. Obtaining authority, influence, or ascendancy over others and one's environment
6. Competition	6. Striving against others to gain something and establishing one's superiority or skill
7. Strength	7. Having capacity for endurance physically, emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually
8. Personal Worth	8. Being valued by others and valuing self
9. Provider Role	9. Assuming economic responsibility for family
10. Personal Communication	10. Verbal and nonverbal ways of interpersonal exchange
11. Women's and Men's Work Roles	11. Perceptions of appropriate work roles for each sex
12. Fatherhood	12. Parental role with sons and daughters
13. Mentor Role	13. Resource, sponsor, and transitional figure for another person
14. Aging	14. Showing the effects or characteristics of getting older
15. Health Care	15. Recognition of factors that maintain a healthy life

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4. If I change, will I be able to deal with the masculine system that uses power, control, and competition in sometimes oppresive ways?

5. If I give up my preoccupation with work and career success, will there be other ways for me to validate myself and my human worth? Will I respect myself and will others respect me as I broaden my human interests outside of work? Will I find these new human interests as satisfying as work?

6. If I express more of my emotional self, how will I be viewed by others? Will there be positive or negative consequences? Exactly what is my emotional self and how can I use it effectively in my career and life?

7. Overall, if I change, how will I handle the devaluations that I will experience from others?

8. How can I handle working with women as equals when I do not really understand them and their perspectives? How do you treat women as equals? What does it mean to cooperate and compete with women?

9. How can I better coexist with all parts of myself: masculine-feminine, strength-vulnerability, thought-emotion?

10. If I change my masculine values, does that mean that I am feminine, less of a man, homosexual, or weak?

These questions and others may be important issues to explore in counseling and psychotherapy. Gender role change is often associated with career transitions, although it may not be apparent to many men. The gender role transition themes defined in Table 2 may be a vehicle for exploring other emotional experiences of men related to gender and adult change.

EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF GENDER ROLE CONFLICT DURING GENDER AND CAREER TRANSITIONS

One of the central points of this chapter has been to investigate the interrelation between gender role transitions and career transitions. It was proposed that gender role conflict can have negative psychological consequences during career transitions. Additionally, gender role conflict was described as occurring when rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles learned during socialization result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of self or others.

What has not been described are the personal experiences of gender role conflict. What happens to men as they experience the career transitions in Table 1 or redefine the gender role transition themes in Table 2? What are the personal and private experiences of transitional change and what emotions surface for men as they negotiate life cycle events?

The personal experience of gender role conflict that emerges during career and gender role transitions can be conceptualized in four categories: (1) discrepancy and incongruity, (2) devaluation, (3) restriction, and (4) violation. These categories provide a common vocabulary for clients and counselors to discuss gender role conflicts that emanate from the transitional process. These categories help clarify men's private pain as they demonstrate, redefine, and integrate notions of masculinity and femininity over the life span. Each are defined and briefly discussed below.

Discrepancy and Incongruity

This category of gender role conflict is experienced when men recognize a difference between their real and ideal self-concept based on the stereotypic values of the masculine mystique (Garnets & Pleck, 1979). When men do not live up to the masculine expectancies of society, they will feel discrepant and incongruent with their masculine ideals. The internal experience of these incongruencies is manifest in feelings of inadequacy, depression, anger, and sometimes self-hatred. Many men feel that their personal success and achievement are on public display. When they are unable to demonstrate their masculine values, they become defensive and overcompensate to hide the discrepancies.

Devaluation

Men feel devaluated when they negatively criticize themselves for not meeting their masculine norms, goals, and expectations. Gender role devaluation produces a lessening of personal status, stature, and self-esteem. Men blame themselves for being inadequate and not being able to effectively integrate failures or losses. Many times fear and anger are turned inward, resulting in self-criticism, loss of self-confidence, and depression. Devaluation can also come from others including spouses, family members, and competitors.

Restriction

Gender role restrictions occur when masculine norms limit flexibility in work and family roles. The man with gender role restrictions has limited options and may not be able to respond to the wide variety of demands of adult life both at work and at home. As men confine themselves to certain roles, they may demand that women restrict themselves to traditionally feminine roles. This kind of restriction can mean the violation of personal freedom and human rights. Rigid masculine norms may be so enforced at home that emotional expression and close relationships are precluded. Men may be so driven by their work that they restrict themselves from family roles and responsibilities. The gender restricted man is inflexible and not able to unleash his capacity for growth. This usually results in anger, stress, and interpersonal conflict.

Gender Role Violation

Men feel violated when they experience harm demonstrating and redefining gender role themes of masculinity. To be violated is to be abused and victimized in one's career and gender role. Violations occur when rights are taken away or freedom of experience is denied. Men feel particularly violated when they are demeaned for deviating from the values of the masculine mystique. When men do not conform to the masculine standards of success, achievement, competition, and power, they can be punished and may become alienated. Men can be violated by employers, fellow workers, or by the rigid masculine norms of the organizational system. Additionally, men can feel violated by family members and in interpersonal relationships where rigid adherence to the male role is demanded.

MR. THROCK MORTON: CASE STUDY OF CAREER AND GENDER ROLE TRANSITIONS

This case study is an illustration of how the career transitions and gender role themes can "come to life" for one man. The previous concepts are now integrated in a case study format of a man named Throck Morton. This case highlights the interactive qualities of career and gender role socialization and how family dynamics can affect one man's transitional processes. Using recognized career stages (Super & Hall, 1978; Campbell & Heffernan, 1983), four vignettes are used to describe Throck Morton's transitions in the preparation, establishment, maintenance, and retirement stages. The career transitions and gender role themes (see Table 1 and 2) will be identified and summarized in Table 3 for each of Throck Morton's stages of career development.

Background and Family History

Throck Morton was born in 1948 and was socialized in the 1950s and 60s, a product of the post-World War II baby boom. He was the second oldest of four children in a close, Irish-Catholic family living in a suburban town outside of Albany, New York. The Mortons enjoyed an upper middle class status. They were able to afford college for the children, summer vacations, two cars, and a comfortable home in a respectable neighborhood. In fact, the Mortons lived in three progressively larger homes during Throck's adolescence, reflecting his father's ambition to be upwardly mobile.

The Morton's family dynamics would be categorized as traditional, meaning that mother and father had distinct and separate roles. Throck's father worked as a real estate broker while his mother had responsibility for homemaking. Throck's father was a hard worker and traveled widely to meet high expectations for sales quotas. He was usually tired, under stress, and as Throck remembers, "His weary face was usually glued to the TV." Throck's father found some emotional release and escape by taking minor acting roles in local theatrical productions.

After the youngest child entered school, Mrs. Morton obtained employment as a bank teller, and after 3 years she became administrative assistant to the bank president. Although this raised her self-esteem, she felt guilty about neglecting household duties. Mr. Morton refused to help with domestic tasks and fulfill parental responsibilities. There were continual tensions between Throck's parents regarding work, family, and leisure pursuits.

Throck's father experienced a career transition (crisis) when he was forced to retire early to make way for a younger and more energetic man. This event brought a tailspin of self-destructive behavior, apathy, and depression. Throck's mother mobilized the family's resourcefulness and convinced Throck's father to start a small consulting business, thus keeping him occupied and feeling useful.

Young Throck was socialized according to the values of the masculine mystique and traditional norms of American manhood. He learned from his father that manly worth was obtained through success, achievement, power, and competence at work. The more wealth and power one obtained, the more masculine one would be perceived. In the community, Throck's father was a respected man because of his success. Throck desperately wanted to imitate his father's qualities.

Throck learned from his father and mother that emotionality and vulnerability were inappropriate for men. He also recognized his father's drinking problem as a symptom of career stress and pressure. Concurrently, he observed his father's retreat to television and interest in the theater as outlets for his unexpressed emotions. The theater provided Throck's father with outlets for expressive, artistic, and emotional release without making him seem feminine. On the other hand, he perceived his father as being powerful, strong, successful, and competent when it came to business matters. In many ways, Throck was confused by his father's strivings for masculinity and his "closet" feminine interests in acting. Overall, Throck received strong messages from his parents: "Work hard, succeed, forget your emotions, be a man in the world." Unable to reconcile all of these messages, Throck began his own career exploration.

Career Preparation Stage

Throck's interest in business occupations was shaped by his family, school experience, and his parents' career success. These factors formed a primary value: "Hard work, perseverance, and drive pay off." In high school he enrolled in college preparatory courses and played varsity sports. He secretly wished to enter law school and enjoyed political science, journalism, and English. He rarely dated, considered himself a late bloomer in relationships, and "hung out" with the boys playing sports, driving cars, and drinking beer.

During college, he coasted through coursework, delayed thinking about careers, and panicked in his senior year about what to do with his life. He was afraid to commit himself to a career, job, or professional training. He lacked self-awareness, was naive about the world of work, and indecisive about law school, missing the application deadline. He had not achieved good grades in college (GPA = 2.2) and feared rejection from law schools. Additionally, questions about his competency and self-worth produced a vacuum of inertia and inaction.

Following college graduation, pressure came from his parents, who disapproved of his lack of academic achievement and delayed decision making. His father called him lazy, which was unfair and inaccurate. Throck felt devalued by his father, feared failure, and felt he was disappointing his parents. Avoiding all of this, he opted for a year off on the West Coast to "get his head together." He wanted to do some self-reflection and career exploration. Instead, he was plagued by greater self-doubts about success and concerned about parental approval. Throck's father added "insult to injury" by describing Throck's year off as "cowardly escape to the West Coast." The message was: The sooner he started making money, the sooner he could be somebody. "Somebody" meant a man who succeeds and gets things done. Throck felt further devaluation and worried about his inadequacy as a man. Furthermore, he felt restricted by his own limited self-knowledge and indecisiveness.

Career Establishment Stage

Returning from the West Coast, Throck had a series of sales-related jobs. To his surprise, he did quite well and moved from selling vacuum cleaners, sports equipment, and computer software to selling business machines. After a few years with each company, he became restless, yearning for more challenges. Financially, he could afford a new car and a down payment on a small starter home. He dated casually and at age 28 met an attractive business colleague. They married 2 years later and had their first child, a son, the following year.

Throck continued his sales job, worked long hours, and traveled extensively. He felt much pressure to be the family protector and to fulfill the provider role through large salary increases. He felt pulled between his professional and familial priorities, and his excessive drinking became more problematic. Throck became increasingly dissatisfied with his job. He began to feel apathetic about going to work in the morning because he derived little pleasure from selling. His wife sensed that a sales career was a real compromise to Throck's career dream of being a trial lawyer. She urged him to begin career counseling. Throck resisted, wanting to avoid fears of incompetence and retreated into alcohol. He had felt out of control since high school and his relationship with his parents had continued to be distant and strained. His sales career did not make him feel like a successful man and the work had no inherent meaning. His sales quotas dropped drastically, as did his income. He was reprimanded by his district manager for failing to meet 6 consecutive months of sales quotas.

The lowest point Throck can remember was on his 35th birthday when he was fired from the company. To Throck, being fired and unemployed was the worst kind of failure, personal embarrassment, and loss of control. Hitting the bottom in an ironic way left him debilitated on one hand and desperate to prove himself as a persevering man on the other. There was a sense of relief, freedom to start over, and a possibility for a career change. During this crisis, he began career counseling and decided to enter law school. Even though this meant severe income loss for 3 years, his wife was supportive. He was the oldest student in his law classes, but he felt a renewed sense of commitment and achievement. He began to feel like an effective man, the one his parents wanted him to become. Throck had established himself as an effective trial lawyer by age 43. His success was rapid. He was recognized as someone who had achieved legal competence and he gained power quickly. The courtroom was a dramatic environment for displaying his showmanship and flair for public speaking. With this secure career, he hoped to settle down and enjoy life. He hoped the career change would bring status, success, and worth as well as acceptance from his parents.

Career Maintenance Stage

During this stage Throck could not relax and enjoy life, but rather was preoccupied about maintaining his success. He had lost status and position before as a salesman and it could happen again. Throck's rapid success and courtroom style were admired by many younger attorneys. Two female attorneys sought Throck as their mentor, which added to his feelings of worth and credibility. Mentoring women was a new experience for Throck, and he was unaccustomed to their assertiveness. After closer inspection of Throck's personality, the female attorneys viewed Throck as paternalistic, sexist, and controlling. At issue for Throck was how to effectively guide the women's careers without losing his own power, control, and masculine status. The women were offended by Throcks' condescension and subtle sexism. The mentoring relationships did not last and the women sought more secure and nonsexists mentors.

Throck's stereotypic view of women continued to cause conflict at work. One incident turned into an embarrassing public situation when he was accussed of sexual harassment as a result of some crude jokes he had told at a conference meeting. He was surprised to find out that his "good old boy network" did not support his sexist and distasteful remarks. Nonetheless, he was not about to take abuse from a woman and decided to confront the situation directly. He wasn't sure how to deal with the accusation or with the woman, but he sheepishly apologized for the sexist jokes. He was ridiculed by other colleagues for apologizing to a woman. The whole ordeal lowered his masculine image. He restored his relationship with the female colleague, but he had been emasculated and embarrassed. Throck was able to maintain his status as a lawyer but he was passed over when judges were appointed. In Throck's early 50s, he realized that his career was leveling off. He had reached the last rung on his career ladder, and it was sooner and lower than he had wished.

Retirement Stage

At 60, Throck considered early retirement to ease out of the work force gracefully. He had observed his father's abrupt retirement and the pain associated with disengaging from the work force. Moreover, he was physically and mentally exhausted when cases went to court. He got more enjoyment out of quiet afternoons doing legal paperwork. The pace of his career made retirement a welcomed event.

In the last 10 years of his career, he had reached his peak. Promotions, visibility, and responsibilities had leveled off. He was never appointed a judge, which left one dream unmet. He rationalized his disappointment about not becoming a judge by recognizing that it might have been too much stress and pressure. In his 60s he realized he could no longer handle the increasing competition from younger attorneys in the courtroom setting. His wife labeled him burned out when he really needed to retire early. He feared that early retirement would be seen as a weakness. Many men work well past 65, yet he just didn't have the stamina anymore.

After retirement, Throck became a recluse at home and severed most social relationships with colleagues. As his career faded, Throck felt his masculinity had also been diminished. Fearing his retirement would be perceived as a lack of strength, he confined himself to his home. Throck acknowledged that he was not the venerable wise man he had hoped to be in old age. He searched for ways to occupy his time including daily exercise, reading, and church functions. With his wife and son preoccupied, Throck felt lonely. He spoke with his parish priest about not wanting to die without feeling at peace with himself. He couldn't understand his discontentment because his professional career entitled him to be labeled a successful man. There was still something missing at age 70. At age 72, while tending his garden, Throck Morton died of a massive heart attack.

ANALYSES OF THROCK MORTON'S CAREER TRANSITIONS AND GENDER ROLE THEMES

Table 3 shows a summary of Throck Morton's career and gender role themes according to specified career stages (Campbell & Heffernan, 1983; Super & Hall, 1978). Each of these stages will be summarized below.

Preparation Stage

Throck avoided serious career planning in college and failed to apply his academic skills toward possible careers or advanced training. These factors as well as parental pressure made Throck confused about an initial career. His father's pressure to succeed was immobilizing and caused Throck's indecisiveness. In Throck's private moments, he questioned his personal worth, competence, and potential for success. Throck's father questioned his manhood because he was hesitant about making a career commitment and lazy about pursuing economic achievement. Taking a year off was the ultimate "cop-out" according to Throck's father. Throck's gender role conflict was focused on identifying what career would allow him to be a successful man like his father. Instead of facing the competition issues with his father, he opted for no career choice, advanced training, or first job. Not meeting his father's masculine ideals represented to Throck a discrepancy incongruence that created career inertia. Throck's father devalued his son for not pursuing a financially lucrative career or applying to law school. The outcome was that Throck devalued himself and experienced gender role conflict.

Establishment Stage

During this stage, Throck's life changed dramatically. He experienced eight career transitions: first job, loss of meaning in career, rapid failure, unemployment, advanced training, rapid income loss, career change, and rapid success. Many career conflict issues emerged during these career transitions. There were worries about success, failure, role adoption, role conflict, and loss. These conflicts and transitions substantially altered

Table 3

Summary of Throck Morton's Career Transitions and Gender Role Transition Themes

Stage	*Career Transitions*	*Gender Role Transition Themes*
Preparation	Initial career choice Obtaining skill development training First job	Personal worth Success Achievement Competence Competition
Establishment	First job Loss of interest and meaning in career Rapid failure Being fired—unemployment Obtaining training Rapid income loss Career change Rapid success	Success Provider role Fatherhood Personal worth competence Control Achievement Power

Maintenance	Becoming a mentor Working with women Serious problem with colleague Leveling off—Job peaking	Achievement Success Competence Personal worth Control Power Women's and men's work roles Mentor role Personal communication Fatherhood
Retirement	Aging Preretirement Retirement Loss of stamina and endurance Lost career dream or goal Burnout	Success Achievement Personal worth Strength Aging Competition Health care

Throck's perception of himself and his world view. Concurrently, many gender role transition themes were reevaluated. The responsibility of a family forced him to reexamine his role as provider. He worried about integrating the new family roles with a demanding sales job. An unpredictable income created continual worries about money and personal worth. Questions about competence and ability to compete with other men were prominent. When his career was in flux, so too was his identity as a man. He questioned his masculinity when he was unemployed, yet this process allowed him to make a career change that would augment his status and personal worth. Emotionally, Throck still feel incongruent with the masculine norms that he had learned from his parents. He had also been devalued by his coworkers for losing control of his career and being fired from his job. These gender-career stressors were painful, but Throck forged ahead with a new career in law. Law school training forced Throck back into the preparation stage of career development where he was able to find a match between his interests and abilities. He was able to demonstrate competence, achievement, and power rapidly and was recognized as a successful lawyer in his early 40s.

Maintenance Stage

This stage included four career transitions: becoming a mentor, working with women, serious conflict with a colleague, leveling off and job peaking. All of these transitions affected gender role themes and created gender role conflict. Throck's rapid career advancement as a lawyer was not enough to fulfill him. He thought career achievement would bring wealth, satisfaction, security, eminence, and manhood. This was not the case, and there was an uneasy emptiness about the success and competence. He continually worried about losing his status and position to younger and more aggressive trial lawyers. Many aspects of Throck's role as a trial lawyer restricted his personality. He had to be tough, combative, and unrelenting in the courtroom. Masculine values and power were essential during trials. He was unable to provide effective mentoring for women because of stereotypic views of gender roles. He also acted in a sexist manner toward women and his harassment charge became a long-standing joke in legal circles. Often he could not make the transition from work to home, and his wife complained of his bossiness, moodiness, and alcohol abuse. He felt guilty and unsupported at work and misunderstood at home. He found himself particularly critical of his son, when he so wanted to be tender and nurturing. Socialized by the values of the masculine mystique and fearing femininity, he felt more comfortable demonstrating power, control, and strength over tenderness, self-expression, and vulnerability. His manliness was questioned when he was unable to resolve a conflict with a female colleague, thereby losing respect. He struggled with the demands of work and family commitments, and felt inadequate as a father. He was finally successful in the provider role, but the stresses and strains made it difficult to be a loving husband and father.

Throck's career transitions stimulated redefinition of certain gender transition themes. He was worried about proving his worth as a man and maintaining his career success. The customary use of power and competition seemed ineffective and inappropriate when working with women. He was unprepared to manage conflict with women and communicated ineffectively with them. At the same time he lost status in the "old boy network." In his mentoring attempts, he was unable to alter his competitiveness without feeling a loss of control. He lacked flexibility in maintaining mentoring relationships. He was so concerned about maintaining his power and image that he was unable to empower others. He really did not enjoy his work. Preserving his achievements and successes seemed more taxing than earning them.

The personal experience of these gender career transitions left Throck feeling violated and restricted by his career. The ideals of success and achievement did not yield the happiness he had expected. The demands of his career were so great that he felt restricted from developing leisure interests. He was, much to his dismay, a marginal spouse and father, just like his own father.

Retirement Stage

The career transitions Throck experienced in this stage included: preretirement, aging, loss of stamina and endurance, retirement issues, loss of career dream, and burnout. Preretirement consisted of reviewing his career and assessing his achievements, successes, and failures. He had now decreased his work output because of limited energy and stamina. Now in his early 60s, he was concerned about whether he was a real man. He mourned the loss of his lifelong dream of becoming a judge. The competition was keen and the younger attorneys appeared to be more competent for these demanding judicial positions. The transition from work to retirement did not provide the closure Throck desired. There was no gold watch or retirement party. It was a challenge to find leisure activities that made Throck feel useful. As age advanced, minor health problems summoned questions on death and dying. Throck spent much of these later years thinking about his career and personal accomplishments. Gender role transition themes emerged as he philosophized about his life. Had he proven his competence, success, personal worth, and strength to his family, friends, colleagues? Were his efforts appreciated? Had he made a significant contribution? Was he a valued man and person? The personal experience of the retirement stage left Throck with many unresolved discrepancies-incongruencies. Had he succeeded at the career-family game? Had he achieved what was expected of him? He wished there were a finite answer.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

The case study analysis illustrates how career transitions and gender role themes can be applied to one man's life. The adult career and gender role concepts enumerated in this chapter provide practitioners with new vocabulary to assess men's transitions. These concepts have implications for women and their needs to be described in future analyses and case studies. For now, the definitions of career transitions and gender role themes in Tables 1 and 2 provide practitioners with an initial diagnostic classification of transition issues to be assessed in career counseling.

The question remains how to help men in career transitions as they demonstrate, redefine, and integrate gender role themes. It is probably premature to suggest specific counseling approaches for men experiencing career transitions or gender role conflict. The present analysis has deliberately avoided suggesting treatment modes for men based on specific age, stage, transition, symptom, or crisis. Overall, men's career transitions are best explored by helping men understand their own gender role socialization. Men can learn much about themselves by examining their gender role and career socialization processes. Exploring the meaning of a career transition or gender role theme will require trust, support, and confrontation from counselors sensitive to gender roles. Men can learn by labeling how they have been hurt and helped by gender role dynamics in their lives. Cognitive constructs like incongruence, devaluation, restriction, and violation can be useful for men as they express emotional pain and conflict. Moreover, counselors can legitimize career and gender role change as part of the normal maturation process. As counselors advocate more effective career and gender role transitions, gender growth will be better accepted as part of the adult learning process.

Numerous publications provide background on approaches to counseling men (Collison, 1981; Dosser, 1982; Goldfried & Friedman, 1982; Kahn & Greenberg, 1980; O'Neil, 1981a, 1981b, 1982; Scher, 1979, 1981; Skovholt, Gormally, Schauble, & Davis, 1980; Solomon & Levy, 1982; Stein, 1982). These sources are recommended reading for practitioners working with men. Most of these publications do not give prescriptions for counseling, but provide valuable ideas and conceptual information for intervening with men's problems. In many ways, counselors working with men's career and gender role transitions are on their own. Until research documents specific treatment for specific gender role and career problems, our established approaches to counseling and psychotherapy provide the best foundation.

On a behavioral level, counselors can teach men problem solving skills and help them develop emotional expressiveness and understanding. Goldfried and Friedman (1982) provide an excellent review of behavior therapy techniques to use with men. Dosser (1982) discusses training procedures to enhance male expressiveness. Kahn and Greenberg (1980) recommend expanding sex role definition through journal writing, focusing, imagery and fantasy, internal dialogue, and differentiated reconstruction. Collison (1981) has specified a 5-step process for counseling men including: (1) identifying gender role issues, (2) determining consequences of gender role issues, (3) examining probabilities and consequences of alternatives, (4) deciding on alternatives and identifying resources needed to implement decisions, and (5) planning for evaluation and review.

On a more emotional and psychodynamic level, men will need to learn to express painful emotions that may touch early childhood learning as well as present conflicts. Many norms of appropriate masculine behavior are established in primary families and remain unchallenged through adulthood. Men able to reexperience repressed emotions of early adolescence can gain understanding of their current pain and conflicts. For example, the internalization of parental attitudes and gender related con-fears about success, failure, and achievement can plague a man throughout his life. Fathers and mothers who expressed pain and conflict about their own career transitions can communicate these to their sons. Many men experience their fathers as "wounded" (Pleck, 1984), and therefore carry these wounds into their own adulthood. Sometimes these wounds are reexperienced as conflicts in the son's life, representing intergenerational transmission of gender role conflict. Father–son relationships are fertile areas for counseling men with gender career conflicts.

Furthermore, the conceptualizations in this manuscript and others (Levinson et al., 1978; Moreland, 1979, 1980; Pleck, 1981) need a greater empirical base. Case studies and empirical research on the dynamics of gender role conflict in career and gender role transitions are needed for both men and women. Earlier attempts to assess gender role conflict in college students (Komarovsky, 1976; O'Neil et al., in press) need extension to older adults across different socioeconomic, class, and race parameters. Additionally, the information in Tables 1, 2, and 3 needs to be extended to more comprehensive and focused analyses of women's career and gender role transitions. Likewise, the personal symptoms of gender conflict (incongruence-discrepancy, devaluation, restriction, violation) need both greater elaboration and empirical validation.

If anything, men need to recognize that their career transitions and gender role conflicts are not just personal failures but result from complex biological, societal, and socialization influences. Career and gender role transitions are inevitable across the life cycle, and men need continually to reassess how they define healthy masculinity and a healthy career life. Counselors can help men gain perspective on normal life cycle changes. Men who blame themselves for not living up to stereotypic masculine norms are candidates for self-devaluation, anger, depression, and alienation. These men need to be exposed to more flexible ways of solving the problems of everyday living.

Men can generate alternative ways to validate themselves than through economic success, achievement, and power. This can and has been done by men over the life cycle. Young boys and men need to recognize that masculinity can mean more than strength, career success, and economic status. They need to know that there are limits to this narrow conception of power and masculinity. Men need to develop other interpersonal or spiritual "power bases" to enrich their lives and negotiate changing life events. Counselors and psychologists can be advocates for socializing men to be effectively human as well as appropriately masculine. More humanistic criteria to validate humankind that transcend sex and gender are needed if the sexes are to survive and negotiate gender and career transitions effectively.

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CHAPTER 11

Career Development and the Ethnic Minority

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Career development theories attempt to explain how and why people choose careers (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1979; Griffith, 1980; Okun, 1984; Royce, Irving, & Darlington, 1983; Vacc & Wittmer, 1980). On the whole, the major foci of most career development theories are: personality characteristics, work environment, career decision-making skills, and adult development and change processes. Seldom do career development theories strongly focus on culture, class, race, or ethnic origin. Yet these factors have continuous and pervasive effects upon minorities' identities, attitudes, and career choices.

Minority youth are influenced, as are nonminority youth, by their school, work, home, church, and neighborhood environments. For minorities, the church and neighborhood have a particularly strong impact—perhaps more so than for nonminorities. A variety of approaches to influencing positively the career development of minorities have been oriented around all of these settings. It is crucial that the design and delivery of career development programs for minority adults take into account these factors as well as the unique needs minorities have in relation to career development. This chapter examines these considerations, exploring minority issues in adult development as well as their role as barriers to minority career development.

Much of this chapter refers specifically to American blacks because there is more literature available on that group and because of the authors' personal knowledge of and work with American black populations. Yet the authors believe that the views herein have implications for other nonwhite racial/ethnic populations. Because the topic is adult career development, the focus will be on minorities from postadolescence to retirement.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

The foundations of career choice and development are established in the early years, prior to and during adolescence. These foundations are often the major determinants of an adult's attitude toward work. The environment in which a minority child matures is especially significant to future career choice and career development. Although the assumption can be made that the same shaping factors exist for nonminorities, the difference tends to be in the degree of influence that various environmental factors exert upon the groups.

School Environment

For many minorities the school environment from elementary through junior high school is particularly influential. According to Marland (1974), the school environment reshapes and refocuses career exploration and awareness from kindergarten to junior high. Teachers and counselors play a critical role in shaping students' career choices. It should be noted that some nonminorities are exposed to school environment influence as early as prekindergarten or kindergarten. Often minorities do not attend formal kindergarten, putting them behind their contemporaries in exposure to school influence.

During postadolescence many minorities who dropped out of school return again as a result of an initial work experience that may have required in-service programs, on-the-job training, or a return to formal education to complete general or trade requirements. During this period the influence of teachers can be significant. Quite often special thanks and praise will be attributed to a significant teacher who is credited with getting people on the "right track." This teacher is often one who spent time with the minority individual teaching decision-making skills and developing sound work values.

Of the earliest and perhaps most successful examples of the recognition of the school's influence on minority career development is the Developmental Career Guidance Project (Leonard, 1968) in Detroit. This school-based project focused on broadening career awareness for inner-city youths, most often minorities.

This project helped minorities gain a comprehensive awareness of career options that exceeded their immediate environmental perspectives. Self-concepts were developed that incorporated positive attitudes toward work. The values of initiative and resourcefulness were taught. Generally, the teachers served as positive role models to teach the realities and rewards of self-initiative. As teachers shared their life stories, relating how they had reaped rewards from their actions, minorities had the opportunity to discover relationships between education and work.

Although not all minorities in the project took advantage of the opportunities provided, those who did enjoyed some success. The effects were seen later as a positive influence on their adult career patterns. Failure of this school-based project for some individuals seemed to be related to attitudes. A negative view of self and of others of their own or other groups seems to have held them back from profiting from the project.

Some minority individuals identify with values of the dominant culture over those of their own group. This influences their selection of role models and mentors. For example, some minorities striving for identification with the dominant culture are hurt when an experience such as a job interview leads them to feel part of a minority. These experiences can create confusion, conflict, and resentment that may result in reactionary behaviors wherein minority views are exclusively adopted and the dominant views abandoned. These behaviors can lead to limited career development and perhaps unemployment, because nonminority attitudes may prevail in the work setting.

For many adult minorities, after years of struggle in the work place, the school can become important once more. Many individuals return to school with a base of experience to add perspective to their skill and attitude development that may have gotten short-circuited earlier in life. Minorities make up a large segment of the nontraditional adult student population in our country.

Work Environment

An example of a career development program for minorities in the work environment was developed by the National Institute of Education in 1974. It took an experiential career education approach. This program provided opportunities for individuals to explore occupational areas of choice through hands-on part-time work experience. This approach was successfully tested with minorities in Oakland, California, at the Far West School (Jenks, 1976). It provided a variety of career services for individuals aged 13 to 20 who had previously left school without obtaining proper skills and career development.

Minorities who participated in this program were exposed to a variety of jobs and experiences, yet they often viewed the jobs as menial service jobs. Additionally, because most of the jobs were part time, they were not economically sufficient for the school dropout who quite often had acquired a family or head-of-household responsibility. This approach may have demonstrated more success with minorities if the proponents had grounded the program in a knowledge of minority life style and environmental experience. Understanding nonwork influences is crucial in understanding career behaviors of minorities.

Home Environment

Home-based models for promoting minorities' career development are designed to bring educational delivery systems that provide career training for adults to the home and community. This approach has reached very few minorities. The communication modes are often telephone hot-lines, library mobile vans, television, and video packages (Herr & Whitson, 1979). Home-based models, regardless of geographical and experiential bases, have failed to take into consideration the general life style of minorities and their practices of discovering careers. The life styles and practices of minorities lend themselves to learning about careers through receiving information by word-of-mouth and popular media recordings (i.e., situation comedies). Because home-based approaches did not employ the traditional communication modes relied upon by minorities, many minorities felt that the new communication modes could not be trusted.

Residential Environment

Minority and nonminority disadvantaged families or individuals, targeted by authors of residentially based programs (Axelrad, Korthage, & Whitson, 1977), are relocated to a residential center and provided remedial education, counseling, health information and services, family skills training, community services, and placement information. Guaranteed employment is the incentive. This approach has been tested in rural America.

Relocation for minorities has many psychological and sociological implications, both positive and negative. If the residential program has a strong support system and the individual enters of his or her own free will, the chances for success are good. When it is a last-resort procedure, the chances for success are not as good unless the individual is taught the necessary transitional skills during and after the residential period.

Church and Neighborhood Environments

Overlooked in the various theoretical approaches to career education have been two dominant, prevailing influences on minorities' career choice—the church and the neighborhood. For many years minorities have relied upon the church congregation as a source of positive career role models. Educators, financial consultants, lawyers, bank employees, doctors, and dentists who have taken prominent lay positions within minority churches have served as role models for career awareness and development.

Career development has also been aided by role models in minority neighborhoods. Successful neighborhood models draw attention by their financial success, social status, and material holdings within the community. Those neighborhood role models often represent viable career options for minorities.

When the church role models are compared with the neighborhood role models, the distinction becomes one of degree of interaction. In the church the individual generally does not interact with the role model on a one-to-one basis, but learns about the value of "being like that role model." In the neighborhood, the individual has an opportunity not only to observe, but also to interact with role models, thus experiencing vicariously the rewards of choosing various careers. These influences tend to be informal but influential.

MINORITY CAREER DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

Successful career programs are designed to meet the needs of specific populations. Minorities, as a special group, have unique needs that must be considered for effective career development counseling and assistance. Beane and Zachmanoglou (1979) developed five psychological components that are important for career education of the handicapped. Their ideas may apply to most minorities because very few minority groups would consider themselves nonhandicapped environmentally in terms of conditions, accessibility to career opportunities, and programs designed specifically to accommodate their unique needs. According to Beane and Zachmanoglou, special groups benefit from career counseling by

- becoming aware of the relationship between their maturity and their evolving aspirations, values, and potential;
- developing a sense of worth, purpose, and direction in life;
- becoming a part of, rather than apart from, society;
- developing the security of legitimization in relation to the norms of achieving adults; and
- becoming fully capable to perform all of life's roles more effectively.

These components seem applicable to many racial/ethnic minorities. Yet one additional component may be needed—becoming aware of individuality apart from environmental challenges. Minority awareness of individuality is crucial if individuals are going to be aided in the discovery of their strengths. Specifically, minorities need to be taught and counseled that career and life skills can be learned by any individual regardless of race, sex, color, or environmental condition.

Additionally, in designing career development programs to meet the needs of minorities, it is important to remember that some minorities are historically, environmentally, and psychologically anticounselor (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1979). This suggests that practicing counselors need to establish an environment of culture-free trust for counseling to be effective.

Culture-free trust may be established by using an approach suggested by Crites (1960). Crites believes the following features are needed in order to establish credibility and rapport in any organization: appropriate leadership style, effective interpersonal relationships, knowledge of the intrinsic meaning of work in the specific environment, and characteristics of extrinsic rewards. These concepts may be used as guides for establishing culture-free trust in the counseling setting in the following ways: (a) The counselor must be grounded in a knowledge of minority environments. This will enable the counselor to exhibit understanding and acceptance of the clients' home situation; (b) the counselor must be aware of his or her own verbal and nonverbal behaviors that may exhibit culturally biased positions and stereotypes; (c) the counselor must be aware of the status and values implied and normalized in minority environments by career success; and (d) the counselor must be cognizant of many minorities' emphasis upon material rewards as signs of career success and upward mobility.

MINORITY ISSUES IN ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Minorities do not seem to be unique when progressing through the different stages of adulthood, but some developmental issues need to be noted. For example, leaving one's family and establishing a separate identity can be a particularly difficult transition for minorities. Many have strong family ties that are difficult to sever, even temporarily. Family dependency seems to be strong in some minority families. Historically, blacks feared involuntary family separations. Perhaps this has caused cultural norms that have made it more difficult for some blacks to establish separate identities from their families. Family conformity seems to be a dominant value encouraged among some minorities.

For some minorities the first real separation or sense of separate identity from the family does not occur until the 30s. For many minorities, as for nonminorities, midlife is a period of major examination. Sometimes there is the realization that parental dependencies that have long existed will no longer be available. An evaluation of whether the long dependency period was beneficial is often part of that examination. Also, second jobs sometimes are assumed to support the additional responsibilities for elderly parents.

During older age, minorities and nonminorities seem to have similar experiences. How the individual views his or her aging determines career decisions during this period.

BARRIERS TO MINORITY CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Some of the reasons why minorities do not take full advantage of career development services have been mentioned throughout this chapter. This section will reiterate some of the more important issues in order to clarify what barriers exist. It is hoped that as career counselors design career development programs for minorities they will keep these issues in mind.

Adult minorities devote a limited amount of time to career decision making compared to time spent on other issues indirectly influencing career development (Robenton, 1984). One such issue is being labeled a minority group member by society. The term "minority" is not negative; however, the term causes many minorities to wonder whether they are perceived as equals by nonminority individuals. This label represents a stigma to many minorities and may result in a negative self-concept. Labeling also causes distrust toward members of the nonminority group. Minorities can be so sensitive to the issue of labeling that it can interfere with good decision making regarding career choices and opportunities.

In many work environments, discrimination continues in spite of legislation and court decisions that have declared it illegal. In some areas racism may continue to prohibit equal access to career opportunities. Many minorities therefore lack confidence in themselves and their intelligence and potential, because of biased testing, counseling, and placement practices (Campbell, 1982).

Career role models are important for extending career awareness and eliminating sex role stereotyping and minority stereotyping. It seems that minority career role models continue to be underrepresented in many careers. Yet, it is evident that minorities are equally capable of being represented in all fields. As minorities begin to acquire career positions in all employment fields, they will serve as role models for those considering these fields of employment in the future.

Many minorities are not aware of career services. Furthermore, those minorities who do participate in career programs often report that these services are based upon the premise that minorities need "corrective" measures in order to be successful in nontraditional careers. Additionally, these services can be ineffectual because of the professional's discomfort in approaching and counseling the minority client (Mullins, 1982).

Minorities also have a "language" and life style that reflect their culture. Counselors need to be sensitive to cultural meanings associated with minority language and life style. The professional must "walk in the other's shoes."

Finally, career saliency, or involvement with work (Zytowski, 1972) is an issue for minorities. The importance a person attaches to an occupation and how that occupation relates to overall life satisfaction may be different for minority individuals. Minorities view their job as a means to an end and concentrate more on family and avocational pursuits. Today, however, more minorities are beginning to view their career as a major source of life satisfaction.

CONCLUSION

Most career counselors, in order to provide effective career counseling assistance, strive to understand the impact of early life experiences and developmental stages on the career attitudes of adults. This chapter has suggested that minorities often present unique developmental issues that must be taken into account by career counselors. A challenge for career counselors working with minorities is the constant need to reexamine their assumptions and understanding of the people they seek to serve.

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CHAPTER 12

Conjoint Career Counseling: Counseling Dual-Career Couples

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Dual-career couples are a relatively recent phenomenon. This life style emerged primarily during the 1970s and is expected to be more prevalent in the future (Hall & Hall, 1979; Holmstrom, 1972; Hester & Dickerson, 1982). The rising aspirations of women coupled with greater educational and career opportunities and current economic conditions point to an ever-increasing number of dual-career couples.

For many years the "typical" American family was conceptualized to consist of a breadwinner father, a homemaker mother, and two school-aged children. By the 1980s only 7% of all married couples fit this description (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1981). Today, it is estimated that approximately 52% of all married women work, and they compose approximately 60% of the female work force. The majority of these women have dependent children. Dual-career couples with children have never been as well represented in the U.S. work force as they are currently. Many researchers (Berman, Sacks, & Lief, 1975; Gross, 1980; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a) have indicated that this "new" type of marriage with its emphasis on career achievement will be tomorrow's customary marriage. It is also predicted that women will evidence higher levels of work attachment than ever before by working full-time and continuously (Masnick & Bane, 1980).

Increasingly career counselors are being sought by individuals whose concerns and career dilemmas must be addressed within the context of their families and their relationships with their spouses. Dual-career couples share more of their family's responsibilities, and as a result they tend to be more interdependent than traditional couples. This interdependence dictates more role sharing and interchangeability in task distribution and task completion. Career concerns rarely exist independently of these variables. The career counselor and his or her client cannot hope to address these concerns in isolation. A systems approach that allows for the interaction between and among the various factors is needed. For many career concerns, both spouses must become involved in the career counseling process if the issues that face the particular dual-career couple are to be addressed and solutions found. These solutions involve a balancing of roles and demands, the juggling of responsibilities and tasks, and the careful planning of career transitions and changes.

There is a need for more effective alternative approaches to career counseling that take into account the recent changes in the American family. Hence, we have developed an interactive conjoint career counseling model that takes into account a given couple's family and individual career stages. This model provides a conceptual framework for career counselors who work with dual-career couples.

The lives of dual-career couples operate in a delicate interdependent balance. The systems that support this life style are intricately interwoven. An analogy could be made between the dual-career family and a hanging mobile. If one part of a mobile hanging in space is removed, the other parts become unbalanced and tangled. Removing or adjusting one piece of the mobile requires that every other piece be adjusted accordingly. Many options exist as to which particular piece is lengthened and how much, but the point is that adjustments are required. The same is true of the dual-career family. If a promotion requires a move, an option to upgrade one's formal education presents itself, or a new child is born, each system will have to be adjusted accordingly. When one is working with a dual-career couple, the heads of household must plan together the necessary adjustments and accommodations. The dual-career life style is a complex one that demands a more complex career counseling approach. Career counseling cannot go on in isolation, taking only the individual into account. Instead, the career counseling of dual-career couples is often best done conjointly, that is together, so that all systems can be taken into account. These systems and variables include each spouse's career values, aspirations, goals, and opportunities.

The dual-career life style has been identified as a stressful one. The evidence indicates higher divorce rates, conflicting demands, and time management concerns (Holmstrom, 1972; Weingarten, 1978). Career counselors can do much to help dual-career couples manage their careers and life styles more effectively. Thus, they maximize the possibility that these couples will experience more positive outcomes attributed to and associated with this life style. These positive benefits include higher general health (Feld, 1976; Burke & Weir, 1976), higher self-esteem (Feldman & Feldman, 1973), greater personal autonomy and power (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Blood, 1976), greater marital communication (Burke & Weir, 1976), and the opportunity to pursue self-actualization and happiness.

This chapter will describe a conjoint career counseling approach for dual-career couples. First the history of dual-career couples and the issues they face will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of family and career stages. Then these stages will be used as a context for a conjoint career-counseling approach. Case studies will be used to demonstrate this approach.

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY AND STAGES

During the late 1960s and early 1970s the dual-career life style first emerged. Since then the concept has undergone a number of changes.

When the dual-career family first evolved there was continued debate for many years as to whether it was possible to adopt this life style without dire effects on the family. During this first stage it was assumed that if a woman had a career, she would sacrifice her career for her husband's as a matter of course. She was also expected to reduce her work hours or work-related activities if they inconvenienced her family. The wife was the one who accommodated her work schedule to the needs of the family. The working wife in this type of family also assumed the traditionally female tasks related to household and child care in addition to assuming a work-related role. This stage was characterized by less work attachment (career salience). Employers during this stage were reluctant to promote or to train a woman because she might quit when family responsibilities conflicted with work-related responsibilities.

The second stage could be called the "superwoman" stage. This stage was different from the previous one in that women's career salience (work attachment) increased. During this stage women became more committed to their careers while still assuming primary responsibility for their children and home. They tried to do it all to avoid criticism for giving less attention to their socialized roles. Few women aspire to the superwoman role today largely because it is untenable. The superwoman role leads to exhaustion, an unbalanced life style, and a possible retreat to the home front.

The third stage is exemplified by the egalitarian dual-career marriage. Although individual couples may choose to be more traditional, increasingly the egalitarian model is being adopted. It seems to be the model of the future. The egalitarian marriage may not be a reality for the majority at present, but it seems to be on the horizon. Social and structural changes have made this model possible. Affirmative action opportunities, increased professional education, more visible female role models, and increasing acceptance by both men and women of less restrictive sex-role behavior all encourage the dual-career life style. Increasingly, organizations are supporting the dual-career life style as evidenced by flex hours, part-time professional jobs, paternity leave, and the increased child care facilities.

In the egalitarian dual-career marriage there are two heads of household. Decisions are made in a democratic manner. The division of labor is based on interests, skills, and availability rather than on sex roles. There is more sharing of roles and tasks as needs demand. The household and child care tasks are shared. Career development is a mutual concern. There is little change in career involvement and salience following childbirth. Accommodations are made by both spouses on an egalitarian basis. Both husband and wife simultaneously take on the demands of an employer, a spouse, and children. Of course what is described here is the optimum situation. There are lesser degradations of this model.

Career and family demands change as career and family stages change. The next two sections detail career and family stages.

Career Stages

This model of career stages is adapted from Graves, Dalton, and Thompson (1980). It assumes that the necessary preparation, education, and preliminary socialization into an occupation have occurred prior to entering stage 1. The four stages are: Stage 1—apprenticeship, Stage 2—independence/specialization, Stage 3—interdependence/managerial, and Stage 4—director of organization. These stages are discussed below.

Stage 1: Apprenticeship. Stage 1 begins with one's first professional position. Although the apprenticeship is the first career stage, many people remain at this stage throughout their careers. The apprenticeship stage begins with training and indoctrination into the role of subordinate. Trust is built between the individual and the organization during this stage. The apprentice works under the guidance of a more senior worker or manager. At this stage the work is collaborative, that is, the tasks are only a part of a larger project.

Beginning professionals have a strong need to test themselves in relation to their work. They want to apply the skills and competencies they have learned in formal training to challenging work tasks. Routine tasks seldom allow them to actually challenge themselves or demonstrate initiative and creativity. This can be a source of stress and strain. This stress can hold a beginning professional back or it can motivate and encourage the individual to move forward.

The apprentice is expected to accept supervision and criticism willingly. The giving and receiving of feedback requires accepting the dependent role of a subordinate. A delicate balance must be struck between this dependent role and demonstrating the initiative and skills to do independent work. If these skills and abilities are not demonstrated, it is unlikely that management will allow the individual to move into stage 2 and, thus, to work more independently.

The apprentice stage is characterized by less flexibility than the other stages. Deadlines are often strictly imposed because of the scope and deadlines of the larger project. This career stage demands much investment of time and effort to "prove" oneself and move into the next stage. One of the stresses of this stage is the lack of control over the timing of intensive work efforts. The apprentice may be expected to work long periods of overtime. This makes it difficult to plan for stable family or leisure activities and may cause tension among spouses and family members.

Stage 2: Independence/specialization. Earning the responsibility for an area or a project moves an individual into stage 2. In this stage the professional assumes full responsibility for a significant portion of a project or area and works in relative independence. The individual will be expected to produce competently and establish credibility. The individual manages his or her own time during this stage and accepts responsibility for the outcome. Although the stage 2 professional is still a subordinate, organizationally the position is one of interdependence and mutual support with peers and managers.

This transition can be a difficult one. It demands that the individual move from the security of depending on a supervisor to the independence of relying on his or her own judgement. Many professionals develop a speciality during this stage. If the focus is on one functional area, the credibility of doing solid professional work can be better established. Thus, visibility increases both inside and outside the organization. Overspecialization at this stage could limit career mobility.

Many professionals remain in this stage throughout their careers. This is especially true for those who choose the career path of a specialist. Dalton, Thompson and Price (1977) found that people in this stage have more flexibility in terms of controlling their own hours. They are less directly supervised than in stage 1. However, long hours are frequently required in this stage in order to progress to stage 3.

Stage 3: Interdependence/managerial. In this stage the role changes to a higher level of responsibility. Responsibility for the work of others takes form as one coordinates, guides, directs, and supports the work efforts of subordinates.

At this stage effective skills for leading and maintaining the work group must be developed. The manager must attend to both the maintenance needs of the group as well as production functions. If the maintenance (interpersonal) needs are ignored, the work team will have low morale, a low level of cohesion, and difficulty in working together to meet task demands. Learning the interpersonal skills necessary for ensuring maximum productivity is one of the challenges for the manager.

This career stage is described as interdependent because the manager's career development is intricately interwoven with that of subordinates. Managers are dependent on their subordinates because their success is evaluated based on the quality, volume, and timeliness of work produced by their subordinates. Subordinates are dependent on their managers for protecting and maintaining the integrity of the work group, acquiring resources and benefits, and assisting with their career development. Effective managers must establish trust and come to terms with control and interdependence issues.

Another important task of a manager is to act as a mentor (developer of people). This requires patient teaching, coaching, and encouragement. It also involves encouraging the protege(e) to move on to new career challenges. This can be painful, particularly if the mentor has much self-investment in the protege(e).

The midlevel manager is often caught in the middle between the needs and desires of the work unit and the goals of top management. This can be a stressful position particularly if the organization is facing changes such as cutbacks and reorganizations. One of the challenges for the manager is coping with the stress of being the "buffer." Containing the stress and not transmitting it to subordinates is crucial. If this stress is transmitted to the work group, it is likely to cause insecurity and possible dissention. The manager must also play a dual role with peers. Although fellow managers are comrades and can form an important support network, there is also an element of competitiveness in these peer relationships. These two conflicting forces must be carefully balanced.

This career stage poses intellectual and interpersonal challenges. It offers opportunities for recognition from one's peers as well as the satisfaction of teaching and helping others' career progression. Managers at this stage have more flexibility and control over their work schedules than those at stages 1 and 2. There is also greater visibility.

Stage 4: Directing the path of the organization. In this stage the individual, as an upper-level manager, is able to exert significant influence on the future direction of the organization. The upper-level manager has the opportunity to make policy decisions that affect the organization and its employees. This tremendous responsibility can be both burdensome and challenging.

The upper-level manager represents the organization in many settings. His or her identity is often synonymous with that of the organization. This can be a comfortable situation if personal values and goals are congruent with organizational values and goals. If there is incongruence, it can produce stress. The upper-level manager must not allow his or her identity to become completely defined by an organizational role. This often requires making a conscious effort to separate personal and professional life. One most take care to permit time to pursue a personal life apart from the social and business obligations of one's job.

Because the upper-level manager is so visible, there are many opportunities to act as a sponsor or mentor. The upper-level manager can also interact with other upper-level managers both inside and outside the organization. These opportunities can provide the upper-level manager with a sense of camaraderie and a support network.

The upper-level manager has great latitude in terms of the many roles that may be assumed. More resources are available to the upper-level manager than to employees at other career stages. Yet the upper-level manager may find less flexibility in terms of personal leisure and socializing because much "business" is done in these settings. This may pose a problem for the spouse of the stage 4 employee. Spouses may view the social demands as excessive and as contributing little to their own career development.

Family Stages

Family stage development is diverse because of the complex interaction between the separate individuals composing the family unit, their personal development, the state of the marriage, and a number of outside factors such as the special needs of elderly parents and children. All exert stress on the family unit.

Sociological and developmental models exist that describe family stages with various levels of differentiation. The following model (Table 1) collapses family development into three major stages and highlights issues relevant to career stages. These issues center on family interactions and decisions but are interactive with career issues and strains. Each affects

Table 1
Model of Family Stages

Early-Stage Families

Becoming a spouse

Issues: the relationship
finances
how decisions are handled
the setting of long-range goals for career and family

Becoming parents

Issues: child care arrangements—outside help
additional costs for family
contingency plans for emergencies
rescheduling of time
adjusting to losses and gains

Raising preschoolers

Issues: evaluating child's growth and development regarding past and future child care
deciding the finite size of family
accommodating to possible increase in family size
evaluating resources: financial, psychological, physical

Middle-Stage Families

Families of school-age children

Issues: assuming additional task of interacting with school
becoming responsible for raising responsible children—schoolwork, school concerns

(Table 1 continued)

deciding on level of extracurricular activity for children and possible extra duties of carpooling, participation, etc.

Maintaining the couple
Issues: not being overwhelmed by demands from work, children
maintaining separate and couple activities
socializing with other couples in areas other than child issues

Late-Stage Families
Weathering adolescent children
Issues: being able to maintain position at head of family hierarchy regarding limit setting
dealing with testing of limits, feelings of anger, frustration, and fear concerning the finished product
keeping lines of communication open
providing enough supervision
managing future plans for children
evaluating balance between work and home

Caring for aging parents
Issues: dealing with additional burdens, fears, guilt, anger, financial strains individual cases may present
managing time to care for own children at same time

Becoming a couple again
Issues: evaluating losses and gains as children depart
fine-tuning or overhauling relationship attending to more self development

Becoming grandparents
Issues: widowhood

the other in terms of time management, perceived support in the relationship, available resources and energies, and level of commitment.

Early-stage family (1). The major task of the early-stage family is the initiation of new roles and patterns of interaction. The distinct phases are: becoming a spouse, becoming parents, and raising preschoolers.

Becoming a spouse, even following a live-in relationship, requires an adjustment to the role prescriptions for husband and wife. Two lives must be meshed. Issues revolve around the basic functioning of a family. For example, relationships between spouses, in-laws, and friends; decision-making procedures; allocation and distribution of finances; and setting long-range career family goals are generally major concerns.

Becoming parents requires an adjustment to the role prescriptions for mother and father. The couple is also introduced to the pressures of child care arrangements if both parents pursue continuous careers. Relationship issues center on adjusting to each other as parents, to their own parents as grandparents, and to friends. Adjustment entails both gains and losses. Financial concerns center on adjustment to additional costs. Time is a major stress factor at this stage that must be managed and negotiated. Raising preschoolers initiates new developmental tasks for the couple. They must take charge of the growth and development of offspring. Decisions involve determining the finite size of the family and evaluating the family's resources (financial, psychological, and physical). If additional children are planned and conceived, the family must accommodate to the increase in numbers.

Middle-stage family (2). The major task of the middle-stage family is maintenance. The distinct phases are raising school-age children and preserving the couple relationship.

Parents of school-age children have worked out their roles, and children have not yet reached the more tenuous age of adolescence. However, another power and potential stressor is the formalized school system. Parents decide how much responsibility to accept in raising responsible children who will complete school work and study for exams. The balance may change with each child and each set of teachers a new school year brings. Decisions must also be made as to the level of involvement children may develop in extracurricular activities. This is contingent on needs for financing, parental participation, and carpooling or transportation requirements. Couples' issues center on the balance between their own commitments and those for their children.

Maintenance is very important in preserving the couple relationship. The concern here is that the couple does not become so overwhelmed by demands from work and children that they lose the male-female relationship. In other words, the parent, cohousekeeper, and taskmaster roles must not overtake the couple completely.

Late-stage family (3). Late-stage families in our model face two major tasks, conflict and integration. Specific phases include weathering adolescent children, caring for aging parents, becoming a couple again, becoming grandparents, and facing widowhood.

Conflict during this stage is cross-generational. The couple faces potential stress from their children and their own parents. As parents of adolescents, they must remain at the head of the hierarchy. They face the testing of limits. They must be able to set limits while keeping lines of communication open. They must deal with feelings of anger, frustration, and fear concerning the "finished products" their children will become. They must help decide upon and manage future plans for their children.

Individually, spouses are concerned with evaluating the balance between work and family roles. Each spouse may attend to more self-development as family demands lessen.

During the late stage, the task of caring for aging parents frequently emerges. Additional burdens, fears, guilt, anger, time, and money strains may prevail. The amount of conflict varies with each case.

As children are launched, the parents enter the integrative phase of becoming a couple again. During this phase the couple adjusts to new losses and gains. They deal with fine tuning their relationship as well as establishing adult relationships with their grown children.

The final phases of the late family stage also include becoming grandparents and facing widowhood. Often, by this stage, couples are considering retirement or planning for a second career. Interestingly, many career-planning retirement seminars invite both spouses to participate. The rationale is that they will spend the rest of their years together and thus should plan for this conjointly. Conjoint career counseling should be a viable approach for dual-career couples not only at this late family stage but at any point in their career progression. This allows them to plan a mutual sharing of responsibilities throughout the years.

CONJOINT CAREER COUNSELING

The term "dual-career family" implies more than attention to two careers. The whole picture of dual decisions, responsibilities, accomplishments, transitions, and strains is greater than the sum of its parts. Three role stages are operant: the career role stage of the husband, the career role stage of the wife, and the family role stage that the couple shares (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971b, 1978).

In dual-career families, both adults live in two distinct worlds: work and family. In the past, men typically lived in both worlds, whereas women lived in the family world and vicariously shared in the male work world. The female role included the task of compensating the husband for the trials of a hard-working life. Such a model is not appropriate for the dual-career family. The safe haven of a comfortable, well-run home with food and companionship waiting has been exchanged for a new life style. A house is vacated by day with couples off to work and children off to various forms of education and child care. Then a tired family group arrives, often simultaneously, to face the evening chores. Career is thus newly defined, incorporating the total life interactions of family members. As Derr (1980, p. 237) states, "... the new definition of a career ... includes relevant nonwork aspects of the person's life that impact on the actual work history."

Because career and family life have cycles, each with stages differing in terms of tasks, expectations, and stressors, the effects of change are multiplied when both partners pursue careers. Career counseling becomes a relationship problem because the family unit no longer revolves around one career. When one person is struggling with a career issue, often all family members feel the impact in some way. Schein (1978, p. 53) stated, "The potential conflicts between work and family are likely to be more severe than the conflict between work and self-development, or self and family development, because work and family are likely to involve more extensive external commitments." Also interdependency of systems means that dysfunction in one area affects all other areas.

Family homeostasis is a term that refers to that balance in relationships toward which families work (Jackson, 1957). If homeostasis is threatened, members act overtly and covertly to maintain it. Usually some event occurs that precipitates symptoms leading to the client's seeking counseling. Examples of such events are usually work or family changes (see Table 2). Integration of the change becomes necessary. Strain is put on family members and redefinition of the system affects homeostasis. In relating the concept of homeostasis to conjoint family therapy, Satir (1967, p. 6) stated, "The family homeostasis can be functional (or 'fitting') for members at some periods of family life and not at others, so events affect members differently at different times. But if one member is affected by an event, all are to some degree."

Conjoint career counseling follows the same principles. Dual-career involvement forces decisions on the couple about when to give and when to receive. This is a constantly changing scenario. They need to strike a balance in each situation of what each wants, does best, will perform, and in what manner. The outcome must be dual; yet each must perform individually and assertively without invading or overriding the other. Both need to be reality-oriented and set realistic goals.

Conjoint career counseling allows the counselor to observe the client in both work and family roles. The chance also exists to be an objective observer on occasion rather than the more typical interactive career counselor.

Conjoint career counseling can best be illustrated by cases taken from the authors' files dealing with dual-career couples at various stages of career and family development. As with any counseling speciality, knowledge of the client population is essential. For conjoint career counseling, this knowledge incorporates life-span developmental psychology, specifically family stages and career stages, as discussed earlier.

Family and career stages have been incorporated into a notational system for identifying cases. The letters M and F indicate sex and the notation following each indicates the career stage of each spouse. The number at the end in parentheses ( ) indicates the family stage the couple shares. A notation M1F2(2) would refer to a family at middle stage (2), with the husband M at apprentice stage 1, and the wife F at the specialist/independent stage 2.

Case 1 M3F2(3)

Bob and Anne are both 44, have been married 20 years, and have three children, ages 18, 15, and 14. He is a chemist in charge of a research division, and she is a high school history teacher.

Table 2

Issues of Change for Dual-Career Couples

Work:	*Interpersonal*—change related to subordinate, supervisor, top management, or self
	Monetary—increase or decrease in pay base for self, spouse, co-worker
	Power—increase or decrease in power status for self, spouse, or co-worker
	Work Assignment—change in work assignment or work location for self, spouse, or co-worker
Family:	*Biological*—developmental stage of self, spouse, or child such as puberty, adolescence, menopause, illness
	Educational—change for self, spouse, or child; further training or time commitment; departure of child for college
	Social—entrance or exit of family member from basic unit, temporary or permanent; increase or decrease in external activities; geographical move
	Interpersonal—change related to self, spouse, or other family member

Anne has tired of her teaching career. It suited her interests and needs when her children were younger. She recently attended a career development workshop at a local college. During the workshop she decided to return to school for a law degree.

Because Bob was skeptical about Anne's decision, Anne sought individual career counseling. It was apparent that Bob's input was very important to Anne and that her uncertainty was triggered by Bob's doubts. Bob was asked to attend the next sessions. Bob stated that he felt law was a very boring profession. It was an occupation with longer hours than teaching. Also he wasn't sure exactly why, but he felt Anne would really be better off remaining in her original field or seeking a less stressful new career. They had already had long hours of discussion, and Anne was upset by Bob's negative attitude.

Counseling revealed that Bob was at a point in both career and family stages where people were maturing, changing, and moving away from his guidance and control. At work, one of his junior level scientists had received a highly valued award and, in assuming independent research projects, had left a void in Bob's professional team. At home, Bob's eldest daughter had just entered an out of state college. Anne's desire to retrain had paralleled these themes and as a result Bob had resisted. He had not really been aware of contributing events and his underlying fears that Anne, too, would succeed and move away from him.

Anne also was able to share her feelings of loss from their oldest daughter's move. She expressed a need to embark on a new career to fill the perceived void left by children going off on their own. Also she felt increasing boredom with the same yearly curriculum in her present job.

She emphasized her deep commitment to Bob and her belief that their lives together had always held top priority for both of them. She sincerely wanted his approval before moving forward, but stated that she probably would persist in spite of disapproval. When Bob was able to recognize the losses he felt by changes in career and family members' roles and to separate this from his relationship with Anne, he was able to understand her career needs and put his support behind her appropriate second career choice. At the last session, he jokingly referred to himself as the "little man behind the woman" who was destined to be a great success because of his excellent experience in launching people effectively.

Case 2 M2F3(1)

John, age 50, and Ellen, age 38, have been married 8 years and have two children, ages 3 and 5. The children are enrolled in a nursery daycare center.

John, an engineer, came for individual career counseling hoping to become "motivated," and didn't understand why he lacked drive. He was uneasy about his career progression, feeling he should be more interested in "getting ahead." He just seemed to have an apathetic attitude toward life.

Further sessions revealed that John adored spending time with his two sons and had several avocations that he actively pursued. John described Ellen as a "dynamo." She was an advertising executive who he said was somewhat annoyed at John's complacency toward his career.

It was suggested that Ellen participate in the counseling. After overcoming some scheduling problems, they continued in conjoint career counseling until termination.

Through counseling, John recognized that he truly enjoyed a no-pressure work environment and that the press to change was not his, but one he had internalized from Ellen. John and Ellen began to recognize that he was in fact motivated in other areas of his life. It was not lack of drive, but a comfortable fit, that kept him at career stage 2. In fact, when asked to fantasize his ideal job, he closely described his own position. Both John and Ellen were surprised by this, having assumed that John's concerns about apathy were rooted in firm convictions. When they first met 10 years before, John had been very career oriented.

John's case further illustrates an adult life transition where at or around midlife one seeks a balance between work, family, and personal needs based on a reevaluation of priorities. John was enjoying the challenges his young family and his hobbies brought. Ellen, on the other hand, enjoyed being immersed in a fast-paced, competitive work atmosphere, often spending long hours on projects, with less time to spend with the children, and no current interests in outside activities.

Both John and Ellen learned to recognize the differences in their career needs and to see John's style of work commitment not as a character flaw but as a preference. In fact, they recognized how complementary their styles were. John remained available to attend to their children's needs, carpooling them to school, taking them to doctor's appointments, and staying at home when they became ill. He continued to respect and admire Ellen's career drive, but no longer saw it as the yardstick by which to measure himself. He did in fact have a creative job and both partners now recognized themselves as highly motivated individuals with different styles of setting priorities.

Case 3 M4F2(2)

Elizabeth is 35 and Peter is 36. They have been married for 12 years and have two children, ages 10 and 8. She is a lawyer and he is a partner in an accounting firm.

Elizabeth has begun to feel bored, unchallenged, and uninterested in the legal research work she had been performing for the past 5 years. She sought counseling assistance to help her deal with her disillusionment. Counseling revealed that Elizabeth's disinterest with her work reflected a mismatch between her achieving style and values and her current position. Counseling sessions focused on clarifying her career values and skills and exploring the options and opportunities available to her. Elizabeth expressed her dissatisfaction with researching legal issues for others and not being able to follow a case to termination. Although she had initially enjoyed a sense that she was contributing in a meaningful way, lately she felt that this kind of piecemeal work was unrewarding. Elizabeth had been offered the opportunity to perform legal defense work, managing legal cases, and arguing them in court, but had declined. Because this position frequently required traveling, she decided that meshing such demanding work with the needs of her family was just not feasible.

After exploring many options in counseling Elizabeth determined that what would fit best with her achieving style, values, and skills was doing legal defense work within her firm. She still felt, however, that this was not compatible with her family's needs. These needs were explored in counseling. Because Peter was central to the beliefs that blocked a career change, he was invited to join the sessions. Elizabeth found that she was operating on the assumption that Peter would not be willing to assume more household and child tasks. When Elizabeth broached this topic with him, she found that this was not the case.

Peter had recently been promoted to the partner level in his firm. He realized that he would not have been able to put as much time and effort into his work, and probably would not have become a partner, if Elizabeth had not assumed the household and child tasks. He was feeling that he "owed" her this new opportunity. Also his new position allowed him more flexibility in time scheduling.

Elizabeth was hesitant at first to believe this. Counseling uncovered her difficulty in letting go and allowing others to do for her. Parallels were seen in her need for this skill as she moved forward in her career also. Elizabeth and Peter negotiated the sharing of responsibilities, as well as Elizabeth's ability to accept the "new" ways in which some of these tasks might be performed. Her firm was more than accommodating and assigned her several cases shortly after she discussed her new plans with her manager.

Peter was able to assume more of the tasks revolving around the children. These included: running carpools, helping them with homework, and cooking. He enjoyed having a more balanced life style and having more time to spend with their children. Peter's involvement allowed Elizabeth to direct more of her efforts toward her work. She found that she enjoyed working with a case from beginning to end, as well as arguing cases in court. She now aspires to the partner level in her law firm.

SUMMARY

It becomes increasingly clear that career counselors deal with career issues that often cannot be viewed in isolation from family stage development and dual-career couple dynamics. Although not all career issues require conjoint counseling, it is a new approach that should be considered in working with clients from dual-career families.

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CHAPTER 13

Counseling Adults in Midlife Career Transitions

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The purpose of this chapter is to provide a framework for understanding and counseling adults in midlife career changes. First, adult development and career development theories are drawn upon in order to understand the context of midlife career changes. Next, counseling approaches are explored for assisting adults in managing their midlife career changes. Then illustrative programs are described that serve midlife career changes.

The nature and extent of midlife career change are complex and not well researched. It had been commonly assumed that by age 35 individuals were settled in their careers and no longer trying out various possibilities. Yet, presently people are involved in a variety of career changes well into upper middle age. In reviewing studies of midlife career change, Waltz (1978) suggested that as many as 25% of men and 30% of business managers between the ages of 35 and 55 are involved in career changes and experience major personality and behavior changes. Because many current research studies include only men, it is difficult to estimate the number of women making midlife career changes.

Fascinating questions are raised as the nature of midlife career change is considered. How is midlife career change a part of the larger process of change and growth during adulthood? How is career change related to reestablishing self-definitions during middle life? How is career change related to satisfaction or distress in other adult roles? What is the meaning of work beyond providing a livelihood? When does career reflect continued growth and development, and when might it involve turning away from personal growth? How do people integrate and express new self-potentialities as they mature in adulthood (Osherson, 1980)? These are some of the questions counselors face as they seek to understand adults in midlife career transitions.

Adding to the complexity of midlife career change is the fact that career changes can take a variety of forms. Some are voluntary, whereas others involve involuntary terminations. Many career changes take place within organizations through a change of roles; others involve interorganizational or interprofessional transitions. Some adults at midlife shift the meaning of their work without altering their job roles. As the nature of midlife career change is explored, the types of changes will be contrasted and their unifying elements synthesized. This will provide a framework for counseling adults across a variety of career transactions.

As a preliminary step to discussion of midlife career change, it is necessary to define some of the terms used frequently. Although the concept of career has been expanded recently to include maturation and change in all aspects of living (personal growth, family life, civic and occupational roles), a more limited definition will be used in order to provide consistency with the other chapters in this book. *Career change* is defined as changes of an individual's thoughts, feelings, and behavior over the life span in relation to the individual's work role. *Work* includes, but is not necessarily restricted to, paid employment. *Midlife* refers to the period approximately between ages 35 and 55. *Transitions* are events in which an individual: (a) experiences a personal discontinuity in life, and (b) must develop new assumptions or behavioral responses because the situation is new or the required behavioral adjustments are novel (Hopson & Adams, 1977). Transitions need not be career-related, but also may include relocation, marriage, divorce, or disability.

THEORIES RELATED TO MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE

Until midcentury, it was commonly assumed that little personality change took place following adolescence. Most developmental and vocational researchers focused on childhood and adolescent changes. Carl Jung and Erik Erikson were two exceptions. Jung (1933) described the process of "mid-life individuation" that begins about age 40 and continues through adulthood. Erikson's *Childhood and Society* (1950) described his theory of the human life cycle. Levinson (1980) noted later that it is a "charming irony" that a book with Erikson's title would provide the basis for the next generation's study of adult development.

Levinson (1980) offered a tapestry as being a useful metaphorical image of adulthood. Each person's life is like a huge tapestry threaded by interrelated roles around occupation, friendships, career networks, family relationships, and leisure activities. The meaning of each thread or role depends on its place in the total design of the tapestry. Adult development research and theories have focused on different aspects of this tapestry. Some, such as Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, and McKee (1978), Erikson (1950), and Gould (1978) have studied the tapestry over time. Super (1957) and Shein (1978) focused primarily on the single-career thread of the tapestry. Still others, such as transition theorist Schlossberg (1981, 1984), Hopson and Adams (1977), and Pearlin and Schooler (1978), described individual responses to major life transitions. Each perspective illuminates a particular aspect of adulthood, yet each is incomplete in itself.

To understand the process of midlife career change, the interwoven contributions of adult development, career development, and transition theorists need to be examined. Five representative adult and career development theorists have been selected for review: Erikson, Levinson, Gould, Super, and Holland. Their contributions to understanding adult career development will be used as a context for transition theory, which will provide a background for describing our assumptions about counseling midlife changers.

Erikson

Erik Erikson's (1950) framework for understanding adult development has been one of the most influential descriptions of human development across the life span. Erikson described three developmental stages corresponding to periods of adulthood. Late adolescence until early middle age is considered a period when an individual must meet the developmental task of achieving "intimacy versus isolation." Erikson refers to intimacy as "the ability to share with and care about another person without fear of losing oneself in the process" (Elkind, 1977). Intimacy includes the relationship between friends, but it need not involve sexuality. If a sense of intimacy is not established with friends or a partner, the result, in Erikson's view, is a sense of isolation. The individual ends up alone without anyone for mutual sharing or caring.

Middle age is characterized by the task of "generativity versus self-absorption." Generativity refers to an individual's concern for others beyond the immediate family—future generations and the world in which those generations will live. This task often involves mentoring and being aware of social needs. Failure to establish this sense of generativity results in absorption with one's own personal needs and comforts.

Erikson's final stage of old age is described as "integrity versus despair." The sense of integrity arises from the individual's ability to look back on life with satisfaction. At the other extreme is the individual who looks upon life as a series of missed opportunities and missed directions. Now in the twilight years the individual realizes that it is too late to start again. For such a person the inevitable result is a sense of despair at what might have been (Elkind, 1977).

Erikson's stages of development are hierarchical so that each stage builds upon preceding stages. Nevertheless, an individual who has difficulty mastering the tasks of one stage may find new solutions to them at a later stage.

Levinson

Levinson and his colleagues (1978) developed a descriptive framework of male adult development involving a sequence of four life stages based on common social events. Each stage is separated by a short, and usually unstable, transition period. Levinson's model is more invariant than Erikson's, but is similar to his in that it characterizes the adult life course as involving flux and discontinuity.

Levinson's concept of life structure involves the patterning of one's sociocultural world, participation in social roles, and self-expression in a developmental process. This life structure evolves through stable and transitional periods. Stable periods allow a person to make crucial choices, build a life structure around them, and then seek to attain particular goals and values within this structure. The primary developmental task of a transitional period is to terminate the existing structure and to work toward the initiation of a new structure. Each stable and transitional period has its own distinctive tasks reflecting its place in the life cycle. Periods are defined according to these tasks rather than to specific external events or inner states.

The early adult transition, lasting from roughly ages 17 to 22, bridges childhod and adulthood. The first task of this period is to start moving out of the preadult world. This involves questioning the nature of one's place in it, modifying existing relationships with important persons and groups, and reappraising the self. The second task is to explore the possibilities of the adult world and to test some preliminary choices for adult living.

From ages 22 to 28 the shift of an individual's life from child to "novice adult" involves creating an adult life structure. During this early adult period, an individual is confronted by the antithetical tasks of exploring the possibilities of adult living while creating a stable life structure. This period often involves making initial choices regarding occupation, love relationships, life style, and values.

Levinson refers to these four issues as having central importance during early adulthood. Visions of future life styles, or "the Dream," often involve development of a mentor relationship with an older adult who will support and facilitate the realization of the dream. The mentor serves as a teacher, sponsor, exemplar, and counselor. The young adult forms an occupation through a variety of routes over the entire novice period. Marriage often takes place during this period. Some men marry what Levinson terms "the special woman" who functions like a mentor in that she is connected with the man's dream. Seventy percent of Levinson's sample experienced crises as they worked to create a balance between keeping options open and arriving at a crystalized definition of themselves as adults.

The age thirty transition, lasting about 5 years, provides a time of reappraisal and a second chance to create a more satisfying life structure. This transition may be hardly noticeable or may lead to a personal crisis where the person's entire future may be in doubt. Only 18% of Levinson's sample experienced a smooth transition. The period between ages 30 and 40 is considered a settling-down period in which a man's tasks are to establish a niche in society and to advance in efforts to build a better life. Roughly half of the sample experienced smooth advancement whereas others declined, were unable to find stability, or broke out to find a new life structure. The late 30s are suggested to be the period of "becoming one's own man." Levinson's men often severed relations with mentors and sought to become more independent of other individuals and institutions while still seeking affirmation in society.

The midlife transition from ages 40 to 45 provides an opportunity to reappraise the life structure of the settling-down period. There tends to be a time shift associated with one's realization of mortality. During this period many aspects of the dream are recognized as "illusions." Many men began to question long-held assumptions and beliefs about themselves and the world. Eight percent of Levinson's sample experienced crises during this period. Men reported feeling older, coming to a greater sense of generativity, and realizing the gap between the dream and what they had become. This either led to regrets or a determination to close the gap in a final burst of renewed career activity. The questioning of this period often leads to reassessment of the dream, marriage, and relations with young adults. The "de-illusionment" and resulting modifications of the life structure provide the commitments for middle adulthood and beyond.

Levinson's age periods overlap in spite of being age linked and occurring in a fixed sequence. Levinson describes this overlap metaphorically as a long-distance traveler who changes vehicles, passengers, and baggage, but whose past does not disappear. He believes that his developmental stages have a biological, psychological, and social basis. Through the current unpublished work of his students, Levinson is shown to believe that women experience similar age transitions involving different developmental tasks.

Gould

Gould (1978) described periods of flux and satisfaction during adult years in terms of changes in major assumptions. Gould's framework described what he terms a change from "childhood consciousness" to "adult consciousness" as an individual moves through late adolescence and adulthood. He believes that as individuals grow older they eliminate childhood distortions that restrict life. They move from an orientation of "I am their" (referring to parents) to "I own myself." The emerging adult strips away various false assumptions at each stage of the life cycle, then reevaluates his or her life style according to inner values. The final result is a shedding of childhood fantasies about simplicity and control during midlife, and realization of inner directedness and self ownership in later life.

Each adult era becomes associated with dominant self-descriptive themes. Late adolescence, for example, involves issues of separation from family and exploration of the adult world. During the 20s the individual establishes increased independence and views the world from a more complex perspective. The early 30s tend to be a time of personal reassessment. There is often a turning away from the active social life of the 20s and a new focus on child rearing. During the late 30s and 40s, the individual is confronted with commitments toward work choice, well-being, and money. There is also an awareness of progressive deterioration due to aging. The 40s thus involve an unstable period of personal reassessment and discomfort followed by a general stabilization of changes started in the 30s. In the 50s one begins to feel less responsible for one's children and shows increased concern for health and retirement.

Middle age is often accompanied by a shift in time perspective. The realization of being in "the second half of life" (Levinson et al., 1978) may bring about a shift toward greater generativity and concern about others. Yet, it may bring distress and crisis. Individuals often become concerned with their life progress in relation to an idiosyncratic or normative "schedule" of life accomplishments. They may feel "behind" in reaching a dream they held or "off time" with respect to their peers.

Middle age is a time when men tend to become more sensitive and nurturing, more interested in love than power, and more dependent. Women often move in the opposite direction—away from a nurturing position and dependency on others (Brim, 1976). In this sense, both men and women evolve toward an interdependence that balances needs for independence and dependence.

Although researchers disagree on the existence of age-related stages, most authors believe that adult development is characterized by a repetitive cycle of stable and fluctuating periods. Levinson's metaphor of the life course as "seasons of the year" seems apt. It is not uncommon for someone experiencing transition to feel confused and doubtful about her or his life course. Vaillant (1977) found that every individual (including the best adjusted) in his research sample reported experiencing a crisis in adult life to the extent that he or she would have benefited from psychiatric help.

Periods of adult development seem to vary by cultural, sexual, and social class variables. Because of the great variability in the role expectations for social subgroups, it is difficult to adequately describe phases of adult development. There seem to be some universal issues of adult life, but the socially preferred ways of confronting these issues vary.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Various career development researchers have focused on the importance of developmental career stages. Their theories "specify that individual development proceeds through a series of stages, each of which requires the mastery of developmental tasks and/or resolution of developmental issues unique to that stage. Movement to subsequent stages is viewed as contingent upon the satisfactory completion or resolution of previous stages" (Campbell & Heffernan 1983).

Super

Super's (1957, 1977) writings provide the core assumption of most developmental theorists. He described career development as an evolutionary process occurring over the life span. Super's theory emphasizes that as an individual moves through the life cycle, each stage of that cycle calls for a different kind of vocational behavior. Adolescence is a period of preparation in which the individual crystallizes his or her ideas about appropriate work and makes relevant educational choices. During the late teens and early 20s, young adults must narrow their vocational directions and begin to implement a vocational preference by completing appropriate training and entry employment. After a young adult becomes established, the task of middle age is to stabilize and consolidate one's career. The final stage of career development is retirement, although it is considered increasingly as an opportunity for a new or continued career.

Several writers have further developed Super's framework and related it to adult career development. Shein's (1978) list of career-related developmental tasks for early and middle adulthood involves primarily career entry and advancement in the early and middle years. Then career decline or voluntary renewal characterize later middle age. The final tasks are disengagement from work-related satisfactions and finding new sources of fulfillment.

Campbell and Heffernan (1983) have adapted Super's developmental tasks and applied them to individuals involved in midcareer change. Midcareer changers as well as young people encounter the "preparation" tasks of career development. These tasks involve decisions regarding vocational direction and implementation of the choices. Midlife workers must also complete "establishment" tasks that involve becoming oriented and adapted to the organizational environment. Additional tasks are establishing harmonious relationships with coworkers, learning the requirements of the position, and demonstrating one's competence. In this stage, individuals need to examine their job satisfaction, consider advancement opportunities, and develop future career plans. To manage careers satisfactorily, individuals must be able to succeed at "maintenance stage" career tasks that involve adjusting to changing organizational needs as well as reevaluating work performance goals. Problems with any of these tasks might lead to midlife career change.

Holland

Holland's (1973) theory of career choice provides another important perspective on midlife career change. This theory emphasizes the importance of congruence or fit between one's personality pattern and demands of the work environment. Holland suggests that an individual most resembles one of six types of people: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, or conventional. In the same way, work environments may also resemble these six types. Each work environment is dominated by a given type of personality. For example, social environments are dominated by social personalities, realistic environments by realistic personalities, and so on. People and congruent work environments seek each other. Individuals search for work environments that will let them express their personalities and reward them for their skills and values. Environments search for people who are congruent with their dominant type through friendships and recruiting practices.

Holland believes that lack of congruence or fit between people and their work environment is the primary factor accounting for career change. He states that stable career patterns are most likely to occur when one's work environmental patterns resemble one's personality pattern. When these patterns are congruent, the person receives selective reinforcement for her or his behavior. A discrepancy between one's personality pattern and work environmental pattern, however, results in career dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction is resolved by changing oneself, restructuring one's current work environment, or changing careers. Holland also suggests that an undifferentiated or inconsistent personality pattern can also contribute to a poor fit with one's work. Various counseling instruments such as the Strong Campbell Interest Inventory and the Self-Directed Search can be used to identify an individual's personality pattern according to Holland's codes.

TRANSITION THEORIES

Transition theories describe the process of coping with life transitions. They consider similarities and differences among transitions and the varieties of coping strategies that are utilized. Schlossberg (1981, 1984), Hopson and Adams (1977), and Pearlin and Schooler (1978) are representative of research investigators using this framework to understand life transitions.

Transition theories describe responses to transitions in terms of loss and reattachment. The experience of tangible or symbolic loss often leads to a reorganization of self-concepts and the need to use a wide range of coping skills to resolve the loss. The reorganization of self involves development of new assumptions and beliefs about oneself and the world. For example, a woman who becomes aware that she will no longer progress in her organization may experience a loss of role. No longer a "climber," she may need to develop a new set of beliefs about herself and her career. She might also need new skills for coping with her career standstill. Brammer and Abrego (1981) suggested a taxonomy of basic coping skills for life transitions. These skills include attitudinal responses to transitions, developing and utilizing external and internal support systems, managing emotional and physical distress, and skills for planning and implementing change.

Transition theories are most useful when nested in the broader context of developmental theories. In this way, attention is given to the immediate process of midlife career change, and yet such a change is viewed in relation to earlier life history and long-range implications. Additionally, midlife career change is viewed in relation to other developmental events occurring simultaneously. These might include divorce, death of a parent, or children entering school or leaving home. Osherson (1980) used this developmental approach in studying a small group of male midlife career changers. The approach in this chapter to counseling adults in midlife career change leans heavily on transition theories placed in a larger developmental context.

Several important assumptions are made here about midlife career change. First, midlife career change (particularly voluntary change) cannot be isolated from the developmental issues of midlife. There seems to be a continuum on which midlife developmental issues and career changes are intertwined. For some individuals a midlife career change represents a strategy for coping with the developmental task of individuating or becoming more of a "whole person." Such a person may be searching for ways to become more generative, nurturing, or independent. For others, career change is linked more to specific job-related factors such as poor relationships with supervisors.

Second, midlife career change involves an attempt to find a better fit between one's midlife self-identity and a work environment that provides an opportunity for integrating dreams and goals. For some people, career transitions may be attempts to cope with the discrepancy between the anticipated self of young adulthood and the perceived self at midlife. This discrepancy may precipitate or be precipitated by a career change and will result in an experience of loss and grief.

Third, when career change becomes a strategy for coping with developmental issues, it can be either growth-oriented or may represent a retreat. It becomes growth-oriented when it offers an opportunity to integrate more of one's total personality into one's life style. This kind of career change enables the individual to better manage other midlife developmental tasks. Career change can also represent a retreat from facing fearful developmental issues and may prematurely foreclose important midlife tasks.

Fourth, the process of coping successfully with midlife career transitions is facilitated by broad, flexible coping skills for managing life transitions, and career transitions in particular. Metaphorically, it is useful to think of coping strategies as "tools in a tool box" or "arrows in a quiver." If something must be fixed or a bull's-eye must be hit, there will be more possibilities of success than with only one tool or arrow.

MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE AS A TRANSITION

Various researchers have studied the causes of midlife career change. It is obvious that there are multiple reasons for people to change their careers. Some motivation comes from broad social changes affecting individuals. Entine (1977) cited the rise of the women's movement as increasing the entry and reentry of women into the work force. Technological changes have prematurely ended careers for some people and opened opportunities for others. A changing life expectancy and new retirement policies lead people to seek more satisfactions from their work.

There are also internal motivations for midlife career change. Internal conflicts over development issues may lead to new goals, the desire to satisfy higher-level needs, and the desire for new purposes and aspirations. Sinick's (1977) list of motivations for career change includes:

1. initial career not person's own choice;
2. dead end in advancement;
3. desire to implement avocational interests;
4. disproportion between prescribed and discretionary duties;
5. lack of variety;
6. excessive work pressure;
7. excessive physical demands;
8. dissatisfying employer policies;
9. personality conflicts;
10. lack of social status;
11. low earnings;
12. co-workers divergent in values and life styles; and
13. incongruence with vocational interests.

There are various types of midlife career changes as well as multiple motivations. Louis (1980) developed a typology of career transitions that includes interrole and intrarole categories.

Interrole transitions involve taking on a new and different career role. There is career *entry transition*, such as a homemaker entering a new job in business. *Interprofessional transitions* involve shifting from one profession to another. A less radical career change occurs when a person transfers from one department to another within the same organization, termed an *intraorganizational transition*. The final interrole transitions in Louis's typology are the *exit transitions*, which may be voluntary exits such as child care leaves and sabbaticals, or involuntary terminations.

Intrarole transitions involve an individual's internal change of attitude without actually altering the job role. Some employees want change, but do not want to change organizations or job roles because of personal constraints (e.g., loss of pension plans). Pearlin and Schooler (1978) found that these dissatisfied employees coped with work frustrations by changing their attitudes. One such coping mechanism was the use of positive comparisons such as "count your blessings" or "we're all in the same boat." Current frustrations may then be evaluated as being an improvement over the past or as a forerunner of an easier future. "Selective ignorance" was a second method for attending to the positive qualities of the experience. A third strategy for changing the meaning of one's work was to change one's hierarchy of priorities, devaluing unavailable rewards and substituting others (e.g., devaluing money and intrinsic work reward and valuing rewards extrinsive to work). Whereas midlife career changes are typically active strategies to cope with career frustrations, these strategies represent more subtle forms of midlife career change. It is possible for individuals to cope with career crises by changing the internal meaning of their work rather than the actual job itself.

FACTORS AFFECTING PERSONAL REACTIONS OF A MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE

Motivation

Motivation for career change is an important consideration in how a career transition is experienced. Voluntary midlife career changes are generally less stressful than are involuntary changes, and may require different counseling approaches. For example, the voluntary career changer primarily may need support or help in managing fear of failure. An involuntary career changer may be more strongly affected by loss, grief, anger, and threatened self-esteem. Another factor affecting the experience of career change is the degree to which the transition was perceived as predictable. Sometimes the grief of involuntary career change is lessened when the employee has anticipated a possible termination for some time. For example, one middle-aged bank officer said when terminated, "I saw this coming; I should have resigned 5 years ago."

Magnitude

The magnitude of the transition and the rate of change may also affect the career changer's experience. A sudden transfer across the country away from supportive friends is likely to be more stressful than a more gradual, less disruptive transfer.

Support

The environment, particularly the human environment, can reduce the impact of a career change. A supportive human environment often has a reservoir of social resources (e.g., family, friends, clergy, agencies) from which an individual can seek support in time of transition. Lowenthal and Haven (1968) suggested that the presence of an intimate relationship serves as a buffer against social losses such as those accompanying career changes.

Control

Two important characteristics affecting the experience of a stressful transition are one's perceived control over threatening situations and one's ability to manage anxiety. To the extent that people judge themselves to have control in a situation, the probability is that they will be less likely to perceive that situation as threatening and, in turn, less likely to manifest adverse reactions. When individuals believe they have little control over their circumstances, they are more likely to develop a negative expectancy about the future. This expectancy can result in feelings of helplessness, depression, frustration, anxiety, hostility, or disinterest.

Anxiety

The second important personality factor affecting the experiences of career transition is one's ability to manage anxiety. Sarason (1974) suggested that under stress, highly anxious people become preoccupied with themselves. They respond to threats by retreating into fantasy and attending only to annoying, angry, or anxious thoughts. Self-preoccupation generates physiological arousal that interferes with information processing and planning strategies.

TYPICAL INDIVIDUAL REACTIONS TO MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGE

It is important to recognize that each person has a unique response to career transitions. It is not helpful for anyone to be pigeonholed into "model experiences" that they are supposed to fit. It is annoying for a counselor to suggest that they are in a "midlife crisis" because it minimizes the unique experience of their transition. Yet, it is helpful for counselors to realize that career transitions have much in common with other life transitions. It is for this reason that we present a process model of transitions described by Hopson (1981). Hopson stated that not everyone's transition fits the model and that "even where an experience does follow the model's flow, it is rarely smooth or continuous as the curve suggests. Progress typically is more of the two steps forward, one step back variety" (p. 37).

Hopson developed a process model for phases of a transition that is useful for discussing intervention strategies. The phases are related to one's emotional or mood experience and are plotted in Figure 1.

Phase 1: Immobilization and Shock

Immobilization describes the beginning awareness that one has entered a transition, whether perceived as desirable or undesirable. Both the good news and bad news typically produce an absence of feeling as the person appraises the meaning of the situation. The degree of immobilization varies with the intensity, predictability, and voluntary/involuntary nature of the transition. Immobilization is followed quickly by an emotional response. A positively perceived career change is usually followed by positive feelings, ranging from mild pleasure to elation. A negatively perceived career change is typically followed by a mood reduction.

Phase 2: Minimization

Minimization is a term denoting both regret and denial. When people make a positive career change, they often experience relief and good feelings at first. Then they begin to question what they have done and often experience remorse about leaving their former roles. Consequently, good feelings are lowered as they begin to experience doubts about whether their new career roles will live up to their expectations. When people are told that they have been terminated their usual despair is often followed by denial. This denial reaction provides important stop-time to give the person relief from suffering and the necessity to do something prematurely to adjust. Denial may help the person to feel better as a result, and this phase may last for a long time.

Phase 3: Self-Doubt

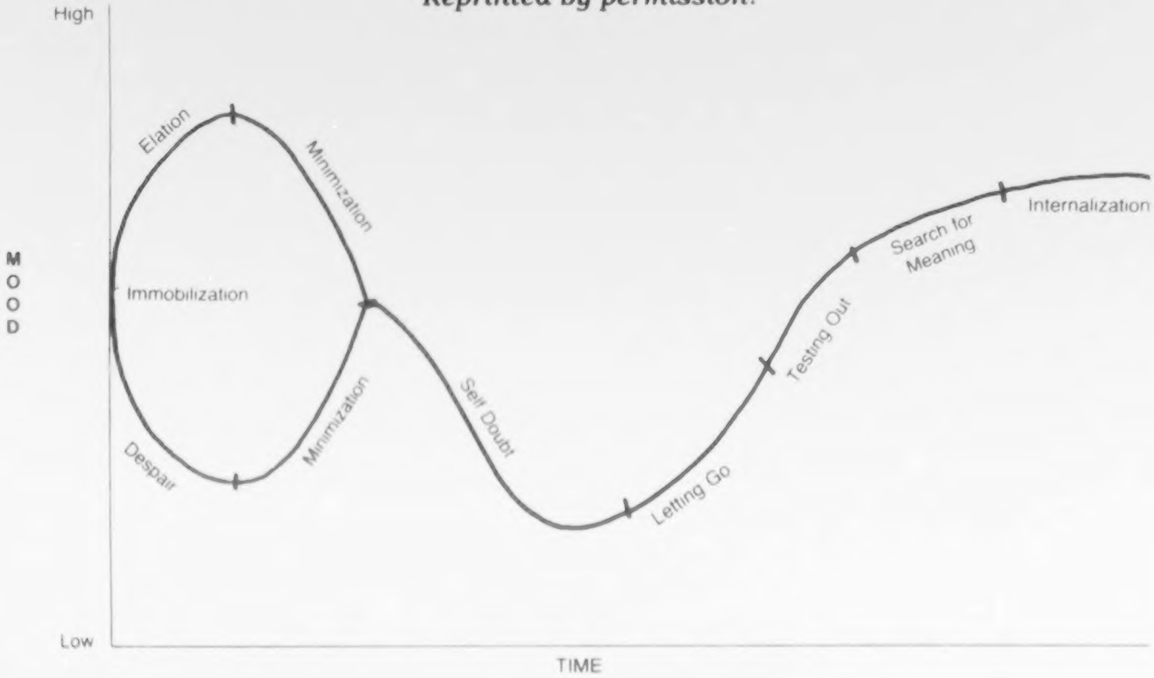
Hopson (1981) states that following minimization "a period of self-doubt often begins and the person will not emerge out of this until he or she has successfully recognized and dealt with any negative feelings that have occurred of loss, anger, jealousy, frustration, disappointment, etc. Letting go of these and old expectation is literally and usually (in the model) "turning the corner" and an upward mood swing takes over." (p. 37). Some people experience intense sadness early in this phase, and they may show signs of depression.

Phase 4: Letting Go

A critical point is reached in dealing with self-doubts about career changes when people let themselves go into the feeling (i.e., experience

Figure 1

Seven-Phase Model of Stages Accompanying Transition. From "Response to the Papers by Schlossberg, Brammer, and Abrego" by B. Hopson, 1981, *The Counseling Psychologist, 9,* p. 38. Copyright 1981 by Division 17 of American Psychological Association. Reprinted by permission.



it deeply). This permission may lead to tears and expression of anger, or it may evoke a cognitive experience of letting go of their resistance to change and their commitments to the past work. Then they will flow with the new experience.

Phase 5: Testing Options

When the reality of the experience of loss comes clearly into awareness and the past is released, a person typically begins to explore new options tentatively. In this phase, a person might be exploring various career change possibilities.

Phase 6: Search for Meaning

Reassessing commitment to one's values and life style is a central aspect of making career transitions. As one tests new options for living, these choices call into question one's previous values as well as future commitments. This period of active reflection may lead to a change in one's values or a recommitment to old values. A new perspective on one's previous career path often emerges.

Phase 7: Integration and Renewal

In this phase new assumptions, behaviors, and decisions are integrated into a changed life style. Personal renewal is often experienced, although reflection on one's career transition may still generate anxious feelings. There is a sense that the transition is completed and that the transition experience will have a salutary influence over future directions.

COUNSELING MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGERS

In this section the process of counseling adults in midlife career change is discussed. Some general principles of counseling these individual and various counseling formats are described.

Counselors who have provided services to young adults as well as to middle-aged persons know that there are some unique pleasures in counseling midlife adults. Their maturity gives them better judgment about their motivations, priorities, and commitments. They often have wider work experience and thus have more data about their career interests and abilities. Middle-aged adults are less likely to expect a "test them and tell them" experience from a counselor. They tend to realize that the answers to their longings are to be found within themselves rather than from an expert or a vocational interest test.

Middle-aged career changers also provide some unique challenges to counselors. These challenges come in the form of subtle biases that may be related to conceptions about appropriate age behavior, sexual stereotypes, risk taking, important work values, and more. Rather than generate a long list of such possible biases, a few relevant assumptions for counseling midlife adults will be discussed.

Counseling Goals

It is of primary importance to consider the counseling process as more than "matching people with jobs." Career counseling is aimed at helping adults to: (a) assess their values, abilities, and interests; (b) enhance their general coping and career decision-making skills; and (c) implement choices where more of their self-concept can be expressed in their life styles.

Job Satisfaction

A second principle is the importance of recognizing that one's job does not have to be inherently satisfying. Counselors may set up frustrating expectations for their clients if they assume one's job satisfaction necessarily determines life happiness. Loughary and Ripley (1976) suggested a helpful framework for categorizing a career into three components: job, vocation, and leisure. *Job* refers to activities that contribute to basic survival needs (e.g., making a living); *vocation* refers to activities that provide a sense of fulfillment, self-worth, and meaning; *leisure* activities contribute to recreational and aesthetic pleasures. For some people these roles overlap considerably, whereas for others there is little overlap between job, vocation, and leisure. For individuals who do not necessarily want, or cannot find, a job with inherent meaning, there are possibilities of finding satisfying vocational and leisure activities that would provide meaning and fun.

Career Mobility

A related principle is that career mobility is not necessarily available to everyone. Many career counselors assume that there exists a free and open labor market and that people have an array of choices about their careers. Barriers to the labor market exist particularly for the disabled, women, and racial minorities because of discrimination, social and economic factors (e.g., availability of child care resources), and personal skills. But job changers from the majorities may also have limited mobility in a society where economic conditions have led to considerable underemployment.

Career counselors might also be aware of their biases about upward career mobility in terms of achieving increased socioeconomic status, prestige, and responsibility. Many organizations have a pyramidal organizational structure in which there are fewer people at the top than at the bottom. As a result, ambitious individuals may become very frustrated if they simply "try harder" to reach the top. It is important for counselors to recognize that some people would rather devote their energy to other areas of life, such as family or leisure, than to continue to pursue career advancement. Others may wish to give up some of their income or prestige to satisfy other pressing midlife interests.

Sex Bias

In this era of vocal men's and women's liberation movements, it is easy for counselors to assume that they no longer hold sex-linked occupational stereotypes. Because many counselors continue to hold these stereotypes, they should at least explore the possibility that they possess these biases.

Risking Change

A final assumption that counselors often make is that midlife adults should become "career changers" when they are dissatisfied with their careers. It may be tempting for counselors to subtly and vicariously live out their own fantasies by encouraging a client's career change. Counselors may become disappointed or discouraged if clients do not want to take this risk. It is important to allow clients to make their own decisions regarding the extent of their career changes.

COUNSELING FORMATS

Counseling services for midlife career changers take a variety of forms. Many private services exist for comprehensive career planning help. A growing number of larger businesses, for example, are adding programs called outplacement, inplacement, career counseling, and management succession to their human resource management offices. A few school districts and governmental units are experimenting with pilot programs also.

Outplacement counseling is provided for terminated or about-to-be terminated employees. Outplacement consists of a combination of crisis, grief, family, and career counseling (Brammer & Humberger, 1984). The goal is to have the person placed in a new job, often a new career, in a reasonably short time. With executives, for example, this process takes as long as 10 months to a year. Both individual and group counseling are available and usually start with a self-assessment process followed by instruction in goal-setting and job-seeking skills.

Inplacement counseling, on the other hand, is performed within the organization for employees the company wants to retain, but on the condition that they change their behavior in some significant area. This includes counseling for the marginal employee who may be headed for lateral or downplacement, rehabilitation for the troubled employee, or "refitting" for those who no longer perform up to expectations. Occasionally this counseling involves some retraining for those with obsolete skills, or it may mean planning changes in the way the employee relates to people. Often inplacement counseling involves a change of career direction or planning for early retirement. In any case, businesses are finding that such career counseling is cost-effective in dollars as well as in human terms (Brammer & Humberger, 1984). Such programs have been developed in large corporations such as Citicorp, AT&T, Weyerhaueser, and government organizations such as Livermore Laboratories and Goddard Space Flight Center.

A number of corporations have instituted career planning programs that help employees plan long-term career development in that organization. They can find their best fit now and obtain a glimpse of their potential growth through such programs. The Tektronix example, described later, is such a program.

Midlife career counseling is often done in group formats. These groups provide a setting isolated from daily hassles to reexamine one's personal values, life goals, and directions. Typical groups are composed of 8 to 10 individuals meeting weekly over a 6-week period. Groups may also meet in a weekend workshop. These groups generally are facilitated by a trained counselor.

Midlife career planning groups involve various self-assessment strategies intended to help participants increase awareness of significant values, priorities, and goals. Lurie (1977, p. 878) indicates this self-assessment includes many life areas:

> 1. influences that have shaped a person's self-image, including experiences in education, career, family, and other interpersonal influences, introversion and extroversion, fantasies, and previous experiences in seeking employment;
> 2. a systematic analysis of the participants' work (including volunteer work and hobbies), work skills, specialized knowledge, natural abilities, and accomplishments;
> 3. current life situation, involving an assessment of values and of activities that decrease or increase anxiety, destroy or build self-esteem, produce pleasure or pain, exhaust or energize, and narrow or expand horizons;
> 4. Current time expenditures, past goals, friendships, health and energy, and potential or contemplated goals;
> 5. Long- and short-term goals and an analysis of what they would mean for the participant and his or her family, economic activities, self-concept, and life style. (p. 878)

These groups provide a developmental perspective by using readings by writers on adult development such as Levinson et al. (1978), Sheehy (1976), and Gould (1978). Some groups will teach various transition-coping skills to manage stress, maintain self-esteem, make decisions, and gain employment. Groups often provide a strong network of support and offer the opportunity to learn from the experiences of other participants. The group's main drawback is its inability to tailor information to the particular needs of each individual. Groups generally operate on the assumption that all midlife adults need similar experiences. They may not have time to allow for a complete assessment of each participant's needs. Little screening is done for these groups, so some individuals whose midlife transition is not career-related may be diverted from looking at their more primary transitions. Some of these drawbacks can be alleviated by offering individual, client-centered counseling. The client will not get the support or learn from other group participants involved in a similar transition, however.

An example of groups to help midlife career changers are the "Forty Plus" clubs that sprang up in major cities during the budget cutbacks of the early 1980s when many midmanagers and technical personnel members were terminated. These groups were largely of the self-help type that organized to give one another emotional support, but more importantly to share job search information and experience.

Marital and family counseling are often overlooked in dealing with midlife career change. Marital counseling is often a useful adjunct to individual or group counseling because the career decisions of one person affect his or her spouse. Couples counseling is especially useful for dual-career couples or people exepriencing a home/career conflict. These persons find marital counseling helpful in negotiating their needs with one another. Robbins (1980) describes many individuals who would have considered midlife career changes but felt unsupported by their spouses. Marital counseling can thus increase the emotional support a career changer receives from his or her spouse. It is also important to note that groups often treat a career changer as though the decision to change careers is a totally independent decision, whereas for many couples it involves a joint decision.

Family counseling can also be useful in cases where a career change affects the entire family. These include situations where the standard of living is likely to drop, or the family is required to make a geographical move. In these transitional situations, family counseling can mobilize mutual support among family members.

Some counseling assumptions and typical counseling formats for helping individuals encountering midlife career transitions have been described. The next section will describe some model programs designed to assist these individuals.

INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS FOR MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGERS

In recent years numerous programs have been developed within governmental, educational, and private institutions to assist midlife individuals to make career changes. Several programs will be described briefly and then some general issues raised in developing these programs will be discussed.

Midlife career counseling is becoming more important in private industry. This is attributed in part to discontinuation of mandatory retirement policies and the move in more companies toward providing guaranteed employment. When the decision to retire becomes a matter of negotiation between the employee and management, it is possible for many employees to work as long after midlife as before. Some individuals may experience several careers within an organization. As employees stay within a company for longer periods, it becomes economically as well as psychologically desirable to provide career counseling. This counseling assists each individual to develop a career plan that considers both the individual's and the company's needs and interests. The outplacement and inplacement counseling described earlier are examples of programs to accomplish mutual goals.

Tektronix, an Oregon-based electronics firm, provides inplacement career planning based on a general commitment to career mobility (Ferrini & Parker, 1978). Tektronix employees are encouraged to learn other jobs in the company through extensive company educational programs. Additionally there is a tuition refund program that provides full reimbursement for job-related courses and half reimbursement for other courses taken by employees at educational institutions in the community. Degree programs are offered at plant facilities in cooperation with educational institutions. Tektronix also offers a management training program, educational counseling, and educational loans. Middle-aged employees as well as others are able to explore new career directions through these programs.

Many educational institutions have developed women's resource centers and reentry programs for women reentering college and work outside the home. The University of British Columbia's Center for Continuing Education, Women's Resource Center (Ironside & Buckland, 1979) successfully offers 80 short-term programs annually for women in management and reentry women. Career and life planning as well as peer counseling services are provided. Core courses at the University of British Columbia and other institutions generally focus on developing self-esteem, a stronger identity as a woman, communication skills, career planning, and job-seeking skills.

A related type of program is exemplified by the Mid-Career Counseling Program at the State University of New York at Stony Brook (Entine, 1977). This program offers three noncredit workshops each term—a basic midcareer course, a workshop for women who are coping with midlife adjustments, and an intensive 16-hour weekend workshop on job search strategies. Additionally, vocational and educational counseling services were established in 12 local libraries in a two-county area. This midcareer counseling service has been staffed by counselor interns from several counselor education programs and a midlife assessment program at the SUNY at Stony Brook. Services are supported by grants and course fees.

Various questions are important to consider in developing programs for midlife career counseling. Is it preferable to create special midlife career programs (such as those at SUNY at Stony Brook) or should existing career services be expanded to meet the needs of midlife adults? Will adults participate in programs anticipating midlife concerns or must we settle primarily for services to people already involved in midlife transitions? How can midlife counseling programs become economically self-sustaining? Are there possible cooperative efforts with business, government, and educational institutions? Should counseling services include significant others as well as the individual involved? The answers to these questions will come as new and existing programs are better evaluated.

SUMMARY AND NEEDED RESEARCH

In this chapter we have discussed the theoretical bases and several strategies for counseling midlife career changers. People in midlife are diverse in personal style, coping skills, and counseling needs. Many research questions remain that, if answered, would strengthen our basis for understanding and counseling midlife adults. Examples are: What is the effect of mentoring on both the mentor's and the protege's career development? What effect would removing resource barriers (e.g., money for education, child care) have on the decision to change careers? How is a person's ability to cope with transitions related to the person's productivity and creativity? What educational formats and combinations of skills are most effective for producing coping behavior? How can people be attracted to learn coping skills in a preventative framework? Are different components of career choice (e.g., values clarification) important at different developmental periods of adulthood?

Although many unanswered questions remain, it is encouraging to find a growing interest in midlife career development among counselors, human resource development specialists, and research specialists in education, government, and private industry.

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CHAPTER 14

Preretirement Programming: Beyond Lectures

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THE WHO AND WHY OF PRERETIREMENT PROGRAMMING

A 42-year-old man: "The job offer was really terrific and I know I would be a lot happier with the challenge there than with my present work. But, if I stay here, in 13 years I can retire; if I take the new job I will have to wait at least 20 years or more."

A 39-year-old woman: "Even though I really liked working in the health food store, and the wages were enough for me to get by on, I woke up one day and realized that here I was, a divorcee, in a job that would never lead to any pension and only minimal levels of social security. Scared? You bet! I had my resume typed by the end of that day."

A 46-year-old lieutenant colonel: "Well, I'm not sure I want to call it retirement. I've got more than my 20 years and it's clear that I'm not going to go any higher up. I'm single and I've made some good investments and actually could retire. Stay, get out, start a new career—what should I do?"

A 58-year-old man: "I took early retirement because I really never had liked my work. But, what with inflation and my wife's medical bills, we're just not making it. I've got to find some kind of paid work; what am I going to do? Who is going to hire me at this age?"

A 68-year-old woman: "Retire? Me? Never!"

A 79-year-old man: "Retirement? Best thing that I ever did. If I had it to do over, I'd take early retirement."

For most people, the term retirement conjures up the image of gray-haired elders. The preceding examples demonstrate that almost every stage of career development, from initial choice onward, may be affected by retirement issues. In this chapter, first the shifting meanings, theories, and data about what leads to a retirement decision will be presented. Then how that decision potentially affects both the final years of one's paid career and the adjustments of retirement itself will be discussed. The second part of this chapter will complement this knowledge about retirement and career decision making with practical experiences gained from conducting psychologically oriented retirement preparation programs. Each of the phases of approaching and experiencing retirement seems to come with its own special needs and resistances. This has become clear to practitioners who run seminars beyond the standard lecture format that involve individuals in self-evaluation and decision making.

The number of people becoming eligible for retirement in almost any organization is a staggering figure. The percentage of persons surviving into their 60s and beyond is rapidly approaching 20%. This, combined with the increasing possibilities for and acceptance of early retirement (Parnes, 1981), often results in a fourth of the work force being eligible for retirement in many organizations.

How does retirement eligibility affect the job performance and career choices of workers? How can companies keep older workers who have special contributions to make? How can companies assist stagnated workers with retirement planning? How satisfied are the company's retirees compared to those from other companies? Does the satisfaction of a company's retirees affect current company image and employee performance? Can steps be taken to maximize performance and good will of employees eligible for retirement? Obviously, these are questions to which any career development specialist in an industrial setting would like to have answers. For practitioners working with retirees in educational and community-based service settings, the focus will be on the kinds of career and social support services that maximize adjustment to retirement.

The questions are easy to ask. The beginnings of answers are found in the sparse literature on both preretirement planning (Migliaccio & Cairo, 1981), the consequences of retirement (Palmore, Fillenbaum, & George, 1984), and the evaluations of preretirement counseling programs (Glamser & DeJong, 1975; Morrow, 1981). However, this empirical knowledge, combined with the experience of career development specialists (with company resources to develop and test different approaches to retirement preparation), provides some useful steps to combating these issues. Moreover, these same data provide a promising foundation for helping both those preretirees suffering from pervasive anxiety and the approximately one-fifth (Parnes, 1981) of all retirees who will come to regret having made that decision.

MEANINGS OF RETIREMENT

Company Perspectives

Career development specialists working with retirement usually have to reconcile the diverse meanings attributed to retirement by both their employers (the companies) and their constituents (the employees whom they serve). The fit is seldom an exact one and often an uncomfortably oppositional one. Certainly the potential support from a company for retirement programming is related to its own perspectives and attitudes toward retirement. Although retirement has been described from an organization's viewpoint as a necessary and positive process (Donahue, Orbach, & Pollak, 1969; Walker & Lazer, 1978), at the individual company level retirement is often seen, along with health insurance costs, as one of the inevitable penalties of running a company. The rapidly escalating cost of pensions and the high cost of maintaining highly experienced workers in the absence of legal mandatory retirement systems all combine to make some employers want to avoid the retirement issue altogether. *Maintaining profitability, good employee morale, and good public image* seems almost an impossible goal. Career development specialists may contribute the most to the development of programs in their own settings by careful education of the company managers. Several useful resources that demonstrate the value of employers' involvement in retirement preparation include: Fleisher (1981), Kalt and Kohn (1975), "Retirement Preparation" (1979), Shaw and Grubbs (1981), and "What IBM Retirees Think of Retirement" (1981).

Public Attitudes

Approximately 2 decades ago, retirement was viewed as about as acceptable as being a welfare cheat. Graebner's (1980) book, *A History of Retirement and Empirical Research Over the Past 20 Years* (Goudy, Powers, Keith, & Reger, 1980), charts an amazing shift to much more positive attitudes toward retirement. Workers currently eligible for and entering retirement are doing so in the most positive context in the history of the industrial world. Of course, the reverse side of the coin is that the increased number of persons retiring has made retirement costs a major social issue of the 1980s. This creates the cruel irony that just as retirement becomes a clearly acceptable action, more and more companies (and the government) are making changes that make it less possible financially.

Although the general shift in the public's view can be well documented, this must not be allowed to conceal the tremendous range of views toward retirement that still exists on the individual level. Although significant numbers of persons look forward to retirement in terms of freedom and activity, many still fear retirement as a period of passivity, monotony, and death (described later in this chapter). Identifying and understanding one's own attitude toward retirement is a major step in preparing for retirement. What leads to positive versus negative attitudes about retirement has been investigated again and again, yet the data remain quite inconclusive. Most frequently health and finances are cited as the major contributors to satisfying retirement (Parnes, 1981). Other studies have found these factors less important than career factors (e.g., attitudes toward one's job). Not surprisingly, a less positive attitude toward one's job leads to a more positive attitude toward retirement.

Employees' Actions

Changing attitudes toward retirement have been accompanied by increases both in the percentage of those planning to retire by age 65 (Sheppard, 1981b) and in the variety and complexity of the actions that constitute retirement. Again, up until the last decades, retirement was synonymous with a withdrawal from the work force. Theories of disengagement were predominant (Morgan, 1980). The belief was that most people would withdraw not only from work but also from the friends and activities of their working years. More recent research shows disengagement occurs for only a small portion of retirees. Even in earlier decades, substantial portions of retirees who totally withdrew from the work force maintained high levels of avocational, recreational, and altruistic activities. As will be described in the community-based retirement programs section, services that help a person stay involved in these activities following disengagement from work are the most promising interventions for satisfactory retirement adjustments and increased longevity.

The increased good health of many persons in their 60s and 70s, plus the increasing number of persons in their 50s eligible for retirement pensions has created an entirely new form of retirement. It might more properly be called "late-life career change," in contrast to the already popularized "midlife career change" (e.g. Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). Certainly there are many similarities in the information and decision-making needs for late-life career changers and those outlined for midlife changers. A very major difference that makes late-life career change a more flexible and exciting exploration is the economic security (pension) underlying this change. The pension guarantees minimal income and may provide sufficient income to maintain the current life style; new work is chosen primarily for noneconomic reasons. Parnes (1981) and other studies suggest that 10 to 20% of all retirees engage in some kind of paid employment. Sheppard's (1981a) data suggest that this percentage is steadily moving upward. The current economic situation, a larger number of early retirees, and better health in later years may all be contributing to this trend. Whatever the reason, preretirees and recent retirees may begin to use career information services as much as employees in early stages of development.

A special form of career change (part-time employment) is emerging, especially for those in high-demand occupations. Where shortages of skilled personnel exist, part-time employment in the same career after retirement is an increasingly popular option. In fact, in a recent survey, 53% indicated an interest in delaying retirement if various work options were available. Continuing part-time work in the present job was the most popular work option (Usher, 1981). The high percentage preferring this option surprised employers and researchers alike. There is a growing interest among companies to provide these opportunities rather than have the worker retire and find part-time work with competing companies. Theoretically, companies can benefit from such policies in two ways. First, workers not maximally productive relative to their current salary will be working less than full time and reduce company expenses. Second, outstanding employees who would choose full retirement over full-time work might choose to work when offered the possibility of continuing on a part-time basis. Various forms of part-time retirement and trial retirement may well be the hallmark of retirement in the late 1980s.

Along with the general trend toward a more positive view of retirement is the seemingly contradictory phenomenon that a given individual's view toward retirement changes as retirement approaches. Although the view of retirement tends to be positive in early middle age, it becomes less positive as the actual retirement approaches (Ekerdt, Bosse, & Mogey, 1980). It is unclear whether this is due to anxiety about retirement or financial realities. The important observation is that many will not retire as early as initially projected in their early 50s.

It would be easy to end this section without acknowledging another "retirement action" available—not to retire. Retirement eligibles who have not retired demonstrate the poignancy of the adage "not to decide is to decide." Choosing to work means no time for the activities and interests that retirees pursue alone or with their families. Work can alleviate fears of change, boredom, depression, loneliness, or increased intimacy. Interestingly, just over 20 years ago a retiree was considered a "loafer." Now the nonretiree may be looked upon as some sort of neurotic workaholic or an old codger who keeps young fresh blood from entering the company. In short, services may be needed for the unretired but eligible-for-retirement as much as for those planning to act upon their eligibility.

Transition

Ultimately, retirement in any form is a major transition that calls for new roles and competencies. Although "winging it" may work in well-established roles, the same behaviors often lead to painful crashes in new roles. The management of transitions from a counseling viewpoint has been well articulated in a special issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* (Brammer & Abrego, 1981; Schlossberg, 1981). The components of cognitive information, social support, and a planning schema are delineated as critical elements in effective transition interventions.

The next section provides critical corrective information that retirees need to manage this transition. The remaining sections are devoted to descriptions of interventions and programs that help provide planning and social support at various preretirement and retirement phases.

AGING AND RETIREMENT: THE RELUCTANT MARRIAGE OF TWO SETS OF MYTHS

Aging Myths

It is hardly a secret that our older years are not viewed as the prime era of life, even though the era is often referred to as the golden years. Palmore (1977, 1981) identified 50 little-known facts of aging that are poorly known by almost everyone from younger persons to middle-aged and aged persons (see Table 1). Anyone planning to work with preretirees, as well as the preretirees themselves, needs to become familiar with these facts. Misunderstandings about these facts constitute a set of myths that have tremendous impact on attitudes toward retirement. Reichard, Livson, and Petersen showed as early as 1962 that those with better attitudes about aging made the best adjustments to retirement. Because retirement comes only after many years of service, it is, of course, synonymous with being "older" in the minds of many preretirees. Although retirement from work has positive attractions, aging fears such as fear of a decline in mental and physical health and well-being may pervasively color and overbalance any positive views.

With so little well-established information about retirement, it is not surprising that there are myths about retirement beyond myths of aging. The professional experiences of the present authors with preretirees have led to the specification of 12 myths about retirement. In answering questions about these myths as items in a pretest measure for retirement seminars, the typical retiree answers only three of the items correctly and the correct answers are distributed across the items. In the following paragraphs each myth and its folklore is described and then the appropriate evidence is cited to counteract the myth. One caution: Because almost all studies of retirement have focused exclusively on men, relatively little is known about women and retirement; yet women far outnumber men in the retirement years.

Table 1

Items from Palmore's Facts on Aging Quizzes

(Underlined answers are the correct ones)

T F 1. The majority of old people (past age 65) are senile (i.e. defective memory, disoriented, or demented).
T F 2. All five senses tend to decline in old age.
T F 3. Most old people have no interest in, or capacity for, sexual relations.
T F 4. Lung capacity tends to decline in old age.
T F 5. The majority of old people feel miserable most of the time.
T F 6. Physical strength tends to decline in old age.
T F 7. At least one-tenth of the aged are living in long-stay institutions (i.e. nursing homes, mental hospitals, homes for the aged, etc.).
T F 8. Aged drivers have fewer accidents per person than drivers under age 65.
T F 9. Most older workers cannot work as effectively as younger workers.
T F 10. About 80% of the aged are healthy enough to carry out their normal activities.
T F 11. Most old people are set in their ways and unable to change.
T F 12. Old people usually take longer to learn something new.
T F 13. It is almost impossible for most old people to learn new things.
T F 14. The reaction time of most old people tends to be slower than the reaction time of younger people.

(Table 1 continued)

T [✓ F] 15. In general, most old people are pretty much alike.
[✓ T] F 16. The majority of old people are seldom bored.
T [✓ F] 17. The majority of old people are socially isolated and lonely.
[✓ T] F 18. Older workers have fewer accidents than younger workers.
T [✓ F] 19. Over 15% of the U.S. population are now age 65 or over.
[✓ T] F 20. Most medical practitioners tend to give low priority to the aged.
T [✓ F] 21. The majority of older people have incomes below the poverty level (as defined by the federal government).
[✓ T] F 22. The majority of old people are working or would like to have some kind of work to do (including housework and volunteer work).
T [✓ F] 23. Older people tend to become more religious as they age.
[✓ T] F 24. The majority of old people are seldom irritated or angry.
T [✓ F] 25. The health and socioeconomic status of older people (compared to younger people) in the year 2000 will probably be about the same as now.
[✓ T] F 26. A person's height tends to decline in old age.
[✓ T] F 27. More older persons (over 65) have chronic illnesses that limit their activity than younger persons.
T [✓ F] 28. Older persons have more acute (short-term) illnesses than persons under 65.
T [✓ F] 29. Older persons have more injuries in the home than persons under 65.
[✓ T] F 30. Older workers have less absenteeism than younger workers.
[✓ T] F 31. The life expectancy of Blacks at age 65 is about the same as Whites.
T [✓ F] 32. The life expectancy of men at age 65 is about the same as women's.
T [✓ F] 33. Medicare pays over half of the medical expenses for the aged.
[✓ T] F 34. Social Security benefits automatically increase with inflation.
[✓ T] F 35. Supplemental Security Income guarantees a minimum income for needy aged.
T [✓ F] 36. The aged do not get their proportionate share (about 11%) of the nation's income.
T [✓ F] 37. The aged have higher rates of criminal victimization than persons under 65.
[✓ T] F 38. The aged are more fearful of crime than are persons under 65.
[✓ T] F 39. The aged are the most law-abiding of all adult groups according to official statistics.
T [✓ F] 40. There are two widows for each widower among the aged.
T [✓ F] 41. More of the aged vote than any other age group.
[✓ T] F 42. There are proportionately more older persons in public office than in the total population.
[✓ T] F 43. The proportion of Blacks among the aged is growing.
T [✓ F] 44. Participation in voluntary organizations (churches and clubs) tends to decline among the healthy aged.

T F 45. The majority of aged live alone.

T F 46. About 3% more of the aged have incomes below the official poverty level than the rest of the population.

T F 47. The rate of poverty among aged Blacks is about 3 times as high as among aged Whites.

T F 48. Older persons who reduce their activity tend to be happier than those who remain active.

T F 49. When the last child leaves home, the majority of parents have serious problems adjusting to their "empty nest."

T F 50. The proportion widowed is decreasing among the aged.

Note. From "Facts on Aging: A Short Quiz" by E. Palmore, 1977, *The Gerontologist, 17*, p. 315–320. Copyright 1977 by the Gerontological Society of America. Adapted by permission. Also from "The Facts on Aging Quiz: Part Two" by E. Palmore, 1981, *The Gerontologist, 21*, p. 431–437. Copyright 1981 by The Gerontological Society of America. Adapted by permission.

As can be seen, each of the myths has "a grain of truth." The general negative societal view toward the later years of life and "selected perception" have created and promulgated these negative myths on the basis of an *occasional* observation of their "truthfulness." For a few individuals, retirement, like any other stage of life, may be a period of poor health, poor finances, radical changes in life style, or radical changes in personal relationships. Unfortunately, selective perception has led society to develop many negative views about retirement. These views have been strangely resistant to contrary data published again and again in the last 10 to 20 years. In examining these myths, it will become clear that preretirement attitudes are perhaps *the* most potent influencer of what happens in retirement. Until persons are cognizant of these retirement myths, they enter the period with demonstrable handicaps. The more myths they hold, the greater the handicap.

Retirement Myths

Dissatisfaction. Approximately one-half of all retirees find retirement less enjoyable than they expected (false). Surveys of *preretirees* often find the majority thinking that retirement will be a less desirable time than preretirement. However, when surveys are conducted of *actual* retirees, 80% or more report that their preretirement expectations have been fulfilled or exceeded (Palmore, Fillenbaum, & George, 1984; Parnes, 1981). Even in the 1960s, retirees were reporting high levels of satisfaction if they were in good health (Streib & Schneider, 1971).

As noted, a minority of dissatisfied retirees are apparently sufficient "evidence" for many to believe that most retirees are dissatisfied. In seminars when retirees have been brought in to talk about their own adjustments and satisfaction, sometimes accusations of selecting happy retirees have been made. Researchers are often amazed at the degree of satisfaction among some retirees who are actually quite impoverished financially or are experiencing significant health problems.

Critical adjustment periods. The most difficult time to adjust to retirement is during the first few months (false). Folklore about the stress of leaving the work setting and adapting to a new life style in retirement lead many to believe that the first few months will be the crisis-laden ones. Ironically, quite the contrary may be true. The first few months (even the first or second year) of retirement is what Atchley (1976) called the honeymoon period. Even studies of retirees in the 1950s (Reichard, Livson, & Petersen, 1962) indicated that retirees were immensely surprised about how much they enjoyed the first few months of retirement.

Atchley has specified a series of phases in retirement that, although not yet empirically supported, fit the observations of many professionals working with retirees. If there is any one probable time likely to be a difficult one for adjustment, it occurs sometime in the second year of retirement. Atchley refers to this as the disenchantment phase. Part of this crisis may be related to the hard realities of financial adjustment. Middle-class retirees may experience crisis as their retirement pensions begin to be taxed (they are generally tax-free for the first year and a half) and some of their savings have disappeared or are disappearing faster than anticipated. At the same time, the novelty of all the freedom may be replaced by a sense of routine and dullness if new patterns of activities have not been developed.

Income and satisfaction. Happiness in retirement is strongly related to the amount of retirement income (false). Although one often assumes that the more money one has, the happier one will be in retirement, at best this relationship is only true for the poor socioeconomic levels. Once the retirement income is above the basic subsistance level, the relationship between amount of retirement income and happiness disappears. In other words, although retirees with an income of $12,000 may be twice as happy as those with an income of $6,000, it is not true that an income of $24,000 will make them twice as happy as those with an income of $12,000. Reichard, Livson, and Petersen (1962) and Streib and Schneider (1971) obtained data that demonstrate that *anxieties* about financial status are related to adjustment to retirement. The actual dollar amounts, however, are not nearly as critical. Many very poor retirees, even those who have to change their life styles significantly to live on half their prior income, are quite satisfied. At the other extreme, some very wealthy retirees become obsessed with worries about inflation and "impending" needs for massive life style changes.

A few averages to provide some crude guidelines for financial planning for retirement are suggested by studies of income patterns in retirement. The average reduction in income ranges from 20% to 50% depending upon the study. There is also reasonable evidence (Atchley, 1976) that feeling poor may be a more critical factor in adjusting to retirement than actually being poor. There is probably considerable merit in preretirees' not having more than a quarter or a third anticipated reduction in income. If they are going to have a greater decrease, they will not only have to make significant changes in their current life style, but also will find themselves relatively disadvantaged compared to other retirees in their circles.

If a one-third income reduction brings a retiree below the U.S. published figures for subsistence levels ($9,862 for a family of four in 1982), hard life realities will make adjustment to retirement very difficult unless a retiree is willing to receive some governmental assistance with housing or food costs. Although these subsistence figures may seem low, if a couple is living on one worker's Social Security not at a high pay level, they may well fall below the subsistence level. There are also hundreds of thousands of retirees, generally women, who have typically not had as many working years to accumulate larger pensions. If they elect or are forced by health reasons to take early retirement, they will fall below subsistence levels.

Health. Persons who are retired are less healthy than persons of the same age who are still working (false). Again, despite evidence to the contrary for over 20 years (Reichard, Livson, & Petersen, 1962) and reaffirmation of the good health of retirees as compared to similarly aged workers (Palmore, Fillenbaum, & George, 1984), many still focus on the few retirees they know with significant health problems. Again, there is simply inadequate attention to the "base rate" (e.g., how frequently illness is occurring in all persons in the age group of retirees). As indicated earlier by Palmore (see Table 1), older persons do have a greater accumulation of *chronic* (but not acute) health problems. These will affect both retirees and workers as they progress into their 60s and 70s.

Almost never cited is the evidence of Strieb & Schneider (1971) that retirement actually *improved* the health of a number of workers who retired in relatively poor health. Although this finding may be inexplicable from a standard medical viewpoint, it will come as no surprise to those in the field of behavioral medicine. Their work demonstrates repeatedly the positive health effects of changes in life style.

Early death. Retirees are more likely to die prematurely than persons still working (false). It is all too easy to point to persons who die within a couple of years after retirement while many of their age mates still live. "Evidence" of this sort was cited in the 1970s in order to argue against mandatory retirement. Palmore, Fillenbaum, and George (1984) have presented convincing data that when one compares people who retire *in good health* with those of similar age who do not retire, there is no evidence of a relationship of retirement to age of death. In short, it is state of health, not retirement, that predicts age of death. Selective perception maintains the myth, as we well remember the "tragedy" of the retiree who dies and "forget" to note the worker of similar age who died on the job.

Workaholics. Persons who are workaholics most often have the hardest time adjusting to retirement (false). This myth is based on the assumption that people heavily involved in their work will experience an identity crisis when leaving work (Burgess, 1960). Atchley (1976) clearly demonstrated in his study of retirees that work-oriented people could adapt well to careers of leisure. As with all the other myths, there is a grain of truth in this one in that some workers do very much miss their jobs and consequently experience more difficulty in adjusting to retirement.

Research by Johnson and Strother (1962), Glamser (1976, 1981) and Goudy, Powers, and Keith (1975) all shed some light on who is at risk for experiencing difficulty when leaving the work force. Those who are involved in and enjoy their work primarily because of the interpersonal interactions seldom experience difficulty. They seem readily able to replace those interactions in retirement. On the other hand, those whose involvement in work comes from a fondness for the work itself may have a more difficult time. This is especially true if they do not readily replace that work activity with some other "all-consuming activity" in retirement.

Atchley (1976) found that many workaholics carried their same patterns of high activity level into new retirement activities and thereby made very successful adjustments. The work of Goudy, Powers, and Keith (1975) suggests that attitudes toward retirement are another critical factor. If the workaholic sees retirement as a good thing, he or she is very likely to make a good adjustment. According to their research, the person at highest risk is one who is heavily involved in work and does not want to retire, but is "forced" out by health, family, or mandatory retirement age.

Work in retirement. The majority of retirees engage in paid work (false). Contrary to the data cited earlier on the preferences of the majority of preretirees to have some part-time or continuing work during retirement, once persons are actually retired their plans show substantial changes. Studies of retirees during the past decade (Parnes, 1981; Morgan, 1981) showed that between 10 to 20% were engaging in paid employment. No doubt because of the many financial and other anxieties about life style and use of time, preretirees see maintaining work as a way of coping with those realities. When they actually retire and experience satisfaction, however, they radically change their plans and engage in little paid work. There is considerable anecdotal evidence that even a reasonable percentage of those persons working are not doing so for financial reasons, but rather to be involved in activities of interest and to maintain their sense of worth.

Relocation. Approximately half of all retirees move to another state sometime during their retirement (false). The inducements of sunny Florida, Arizona, and retirement communities across the Sun Belt engender the belief that great numbers of retirees move to these sunny climates. Extensive studies of the moving patterns of retirees have produced results that surprise even the researchers. Lawton (1980) found that from 1975 to 1978 only about 5% of the retiree age group moved. This was the *lowest* percentage moving for any age group measured between the ages 20 and over 75. Furthermore, of the very small percentage that did move, only 17% moved to another state. More than two-thirds actually moved within the same county. When working with groups of preretirees, it becomes evident that major moves are in the plans of relatively few.

Lawton's (1980) book, *Environment and Aging*, is highly recommended as background reading for anyone working with preretirees and retirees. He provides an outstanding summary of the advantages and disadvantages of various kinds of residences and geographic locations both by region and by urban-rural differences. Perhaps the most surprising finding to the age group now approaching retirement and currently in retirement is the higher life satisfaction levels in more urban as compared to rural areas. Lawton's explanation is the much higher level of services available to the aged in more urban settings. Unless extremely good health and significant financial resources abound, rural living can prove to be most difficult for satisfactory retirement. This finding is a somewhat cruel irony if one reviews the retirement books in the 1950s. They were oriented primarily toward retiring to farms and rural areas.

Marital problems. Marital problems usually increase in retirement (false). It is easy to point to what seem to be stable marriages that fail in retirement. A marriage with poor communication and bickering that may have survived during the working years finds retirement the "straw that breaks the camel's back." However, Friedmann and Orbach (1974, p. 626) cited a long series of studies that provide evidence that ". . . suggests no shock or crisis with retirement, but rather a high degree of continuity of activities and relationships and an enlarged and heightened relationship between spouses in many instances." For the minority of couples who do experience new strains on the marriage brought on by retirement, Leland and Martha Bradford's (1979) *Retirement: Coping With Emotional Upheavals* provides outstanding reading. For the usual issues (e.g., wife's feeling that her turf is being invaded and husband's switching from the independent producer to the dependent consumer role), the Bradfords provide numerous suggestions and strategies for coping and the relationship skills needed.

Family relationships. Retirees generally have more interactions with their immediate family (e.g., children, siblings) than persons the same age who are still working (false). This myth is related to aging myths that assume there is much dependence of the elderly on younger children. Again Friedmann and Orbach (1974, p. 626) summarized the myth and its disconfirming data: "this (myth) has involved two interrelated suppositions: (1) we are dealing with an emotionally charged, disruptive event that destroys prior continuity of life patterns, (2) the occupational role system largely controls the nature of the family role system; it is essential to personal and family role identity; and its loss is 'functionally irreplaceable.'" Citing Streib and Schneider's (1971) study, they summarize data that show a high degree of continuity in family relationships. Interestingly enough, Streib and Schneider found increased interactions between retirees and children, *if* the children were more successful than the parents in terms of occupational or financial status.

Anecdotally, there is some evidence that the radical increase in mortgage interest rates in the late 1970s and early 1980s has created new relationships between older children and retirees. These changes have not yet shown up in the major studies of retirees. Because of the high cost of housing, retirees' children beginning their careers in their 20s and 30s may live at home beyond the traditional early 20s.

Simultaneously, because of the longer life span, more and more retirees have parents who are still living. Many of these parents may need some supervision as they are up into their 80s and 90s. In short, the 1980s could bring significant changes in the generational relationships during retirement years. Certainly, preretirees who realize that their freedom in retirement will be encumbered by grown children or dependent parents have strong feelings and new realities with which they must cope.

Social relationships. Retirees generally have fewer friends and social relationships than similarly aged persons who are still working (false). This item reflects the disengagement theory of retirement (Havighurst, Neugarten, & Tobin, 1968). Unfortunately, this position has recieved wide attention over the past 2 decades and readily fits into the prevailing negative perceptions about retirement. Atchley (1976), Friedmann and Orbach (1974), and Mutran and Reitzes (1981) have all produced evidence that there are very few effects of retirement on patterns of social activities. Obviously, there is a notable change in time spent at work and with friends from work, but otherwise there are surprisingly few changes.

A somewhat related point is that O'Brien (1981) showed that satisfaction in retirement was more related to the *number* of activities than the *kind* of activities. These findings help explain how satisfaction remains high even among those who do make radical changes in the nature of their activities (e.g., a pattern toward engagement in more solitary activities). In other words, even when there is discontinuity between preretirement and retirement activities, there can still be a great deal of action. Based on these results, it is clear that during the preretirement years it is not necessary to develop any activity to be continued into retirement. As Palmore et al. (1980) made clear, at any age individuals are capable of embarking on new avocational or vocational adventures.

Planning and satisfaction. People who plan the most for retirement are typically the most happy retirees (false). As much as we would like to assert that planning can be the major factor in a successful and satisfactory adjustment to retirement, the data do not substantiate this. Rather attitudes toward retirement have a stronger effect than planning, even though planning does have positive effects. Atchley (1976) summarized the empirical data that support the contributing role of planning. Streib and Schneider (1971) demonstrated that a good attitude toward retirement was more critical than the amount of planning. Interestingly enough, an overview of studies suggests that a combination of good attitudes and no planning is actually a better predictor of positive adjustment than good planning and bad attitudes. In considering these findings, it is not surprising that discussion group techniques as compared to lecture group techniques have had a far more positive effect on preretirees' subsequent adjustment to retirement (Merikangas, 1983).

As many career development consultants have painfully learned, regardless of the program tried, some preretirees simply will not get involved. They resist developing the kind of self-review necessary to generate both positive attitudes and plans that would lead to a satisfactory retirement. Greene (1969) has described some of the typical patterns of participants in preretirement programs and labels these persons as "resistors." It has not yet been determined how these persons can be reached.

PRERETIREMENT PROGRAMS: CONCEPTS AND REALITIES

At best the marriage of two sets of myths, retirement and aging, has created a cloudy image of life on the other side of the retirement event. Thus, the primary task counselors and career development specialists in organizations face is creating an environment in which individuals can understand the authentic rather than mythical issues of retirement living. To create that environment, the focus of the program should be on the individual rather than on disseminating a body of information. The challenge in preretirement programming is to facilitate the process the individual undertakes. The objective is to prepare the individual to pass through this major life transition with as few emotional scrapes and bruises as possible, and to be equipped with clear values and life direction with which to face future changes.

Remote Phase Programs: Seldom-Met Needs

Discarding the role of worker and taking on the role of retiree is normally experienced over a span of time. The familiar retirement dinner with its gold watch ceremony may mark the event, but the process within the retiree begins years before. Atchley (1976) spoke of a remote phase of preretirement during which the employee is just becoming aware of approaching eligibility and wondering how to begin decision making and planning. During this stage generally two questions are paramount in the individual's thoughts: "Can I afford to retire?" and "What will I do with my time?" The ideal retirement preparation, both within and outside of organizations, should begin during the remote phase. Today, however, adequate remote-phase preparation is almost always left to individuals and not to programmers within organizations. In practice, organizational programs typically combine the content of both phases into one intervention, usually a seminar. These seminars are then offered for both individuals nearing or having achieved retirement eligibility.

Money management. One obvious need of the employee in the remote phase is to have a firm financial foundation in place. Yet one of the greatest challenges facing a career development specialist preparing individuals for retirement is to motivate employees to come to early grips with their retirement financial situation. Seeing this reality is critical for two reasons. First, it provides a foundation for decision making around major retirement issues including: timing (when to retire); housing (present home, smaller home, apartment, warmer climate, a state with lower taxes); life style (can what is desired be reconciled with what is affordable); and employment (part-time/volunteer). Without feeling control over the financial future, the preretired in seminar settings cannot focus serious attention on other critical areas of retirement readiness that may significantly influence satisfaction and adjustment in retirement.

In the typical company retirement seminar, the financial planning address is given by professional financial consultants or investment brokers. Their presentations to preretirees often enhance anxiety about financial matters rather than reduce them. Consultants often talk about options that, although understood, often require cash resources not available to many participants. Although someone who has effectively managed previous finances may have from $10,000 to $30,000 or more in liquid investments that can be moved around to add significantly to retirement income, many participants have few assets other than a home, which is not liquid capital. Consequently, the presentations may not only be irrelevant for their finances, but are often threatening to preretirees who begin to feel inadequate because they have not amassed the liquid assets that the financial consultants suggest should be part of their portfolio.

Responding by questionnaire to one presentation of this type, one-half of the participants said they planned to hire the professional to do their financial planning. They were ready to turn control over to someone else and incur more expenses even when their resources were meager.

The ideal program provides preretirees the incentive to juxtapose their present use of money (e.g., budget) with a projected retirement budget. In this way they look at the differences, decide on the adequacy of what they see, project that into the future for 10 or 15 years indexed for inflation, and then begin to think with more realism about the timing and activities of retirement. Thus, the optimal situation would be to live on the projected retirement budget before retirement. In other words, rehearse the retirement life style while building a nest egg. Financial experts have noted that 5 to 8 years of such planning and saving are necessary to develop appreciable supplemental retirement resources.

Use of time. In addition to the need for money management in the remote phase of preretirement and the challenges to programmers that this presents, a second major question uppermost in most preretirees' thoughts is: "What will I do with my time?"

A widely held fantasy of retirement is that it is an extended vacation. This fantasy is understandable because most people are accustomed to the rhythm of working 5 days, resting 2—working for 11 months, playing for 1. This kind of rhythm is established from the earliest days at school. In seminars when some preretirees look at retirement life, they see total freedom (e.g., wonderful leisure, no decision making). However, individuals who are already retired (Bradford & Bradford, 1979; Willing, 1981) report quite a different situation. Retirement is not a perpetual vacation. Rather, it is a major life transition that necessitates the development of new roles, or the enlargement of present roles other than that of worker. For this to happen preretirees must have a clear sense of self at their present stage in the life cycle. From this sense of self will then flow the roles to assume or enlarge and knowledge of what to do with time. Retirement programmers do well to rephrase the question, "What will I do with my time?" to "Who do I choose to be?" When the preretirees understand the uniqueness of their potential contribution to life outside the work context, as well as their personal self-worth and needs, new roles and a list of activities will fall into place.

There are particular difficulties associated with the experience of leaving the work role. These are often denied consciousness, yet are crucial to the satisfying use of time in retirement. Bradford and Bradford (1979) identified a series of psychological needs that are filled inadvertently by most organizations:

- a sense of belonging to a group outside the family network;
- the need to socialize with fellow workers, colleagues, and associates;
- an area of physical and psychological space (title, status, responsibility, image, sense of usefulness, work place, desk, equipment, tools);
- time structure, routines;

- goals; and
- achievement, power and influence, affirmation, validation, valued knowledge and skills.

Few employees realize the extent to which they have these needs, let alone realize that the needs have been filled by the work role. Even the most independent high-level executives who routinely set goals for themselves and their organization do so because of the responsibilities they have agreed to shoulder. When they leave work, they will leave those goals for another person to set. The most basic routines of our day, of the season, and of the year are dictated by one's identity as worker: (a) when to rise, (b) what to wear, (c) what to eat (light breakfast for sedentary workers/heavy breakfast for manual laborers), (d) what to read, (e) with whom to socialize, (f) when to take a vacation, (g) whether to celebrate a holiday (who gets off Columbus Day?), and (h) when to do the laundry.

Most of us are affirmed largely by our work. Our worth is validated through the use of our knowledge and skills. We exercise power and influence. We experience a sense of accomplishment. To leave these inner benefits at retirement is to lose some of the major psychological props to well-being. Good preretirement programs must examine these issues with the goal of replacing the salient losses with retirement activities that will ensure the continuity of a sense of self-esteem and value. A key question for preretirees to ask is, "What activities in my retirement life style will ensure that my psychological needs filled by work will also be met in retirement?"

The task of facilitating such a self-examination can be challenging, depending on the particular culture of the organization. A highly technical, investigative, and scientific population will react differently than a highly social and humanitarian population to introspective activities. It can and must be done, however, even in the most challenging settings.

The authors, in a scientific and technical setting, use both content and process to reduce the initial resistance to introspective activities that typically occurs in a retirement age cohort. Content that challenges established myths of retirement leads easily into examining personal values and needs in light of the reality of retirement. Activities that do not require self-disclosure, yet promote group sharing, help to establish a social climate of acceptance of the task. Some individuals report that the greatest benefit of a seminar is participating in open discussion about some of the "feeling" issues involved in retirement planning.

In the authors' work, three modules are designed to stimulate thinking around topics that feed into the question of time use: Work and Retirement, Time and Retirement, and Self and Retirement. The programmer's goal is to foster the development of inner control and direction for the future and to forestall a lack of goals and direction that many retirees report. One seminar participant summed it up thus: "Up to now in my life I have just let things happen. Now I see that I can control the direction of my life in retirement." A list of possible activities and a discussion on volunteerism is of little help to preretirees looking to feel satisfied about their use of time in retirement. What is required is that the individuals must come to grips with the direction of their life when life is not structured by work.

Near Phase

When an employee becomes eligible to retire (according to company regulations), the question of when to retire and the accompanying decision making can precipitate significant anxiety. Atchley (1976) noted that as the retirement time draws near, attitudes toward retirement become more negative for many, probably because of a lack of financial preparedness. It is a time when individuals begin to separate themselves psychologically from work. For employees who have planned in the remote phase, nearing retirement is likely to be positive because they have prepared themselves financially and set in place a direction for retirement activities.

A key factor for satisfying retirement adjustment is establishing a realistic concept of retirement life. It is a time to be practical as well as idealistic. Those individuals who see retirement *only* as a time to "do what I want to do, when I want to do it" or to spend the days on a golf course will be ill prepared for retirement realities (e.g., when family members require their time or there is no partner for a game).

What can the career development specialist do to facilitate reality-based planning in the near phase of the retirement transition? The authors' programs focus on the individual's needs for information, social support, and a concrete plan of action (Schlossberg, Troll, & Leibowitz, 1978).

Information. Information needs of the preretirees are highly practical. Often there is a need for personal, pertinent facts, not general information. For this reason it is more useful for leaders to facilitate the participants' own information gathering activities rather than to provide too many details on many topics. One example is Social Security. What preretires need to know is: (1) the amount of their individual benefit (not general information on the history of the Social Security Administration), and (2) the necessary details involved in applying for the benefit. First, the preretirement programmer should provide necessary phone numbers and addresses of local Social Security offices and information on procedures for applying for benefits. Second, to motivate preretirees to gather information, a discussion could be facilitated on the skills required to deal with bureaucratic institutions.

Similar to the Social Security information is information needed from the organization's benefits officer: (a) the amount of the annuity pension; (b) how and when to begin retirement procedures; and (c) the decisions (e.g., health and life insurance/the optimal time in the year to leave) that need some prior thought. Often, just meeting the benefits officer, having that phone number, and generally understanding the retirement procedure are enough to reduce anxiety.

Another area in which to generate information gathering activities rather than present general information is relocation. Unless an audience is composed of individuals with no family ties, a general talk on the best locations in the country to retire based on taxes, cost of living, or climate will be entertaining, but not practical. Of more value to the preretiree is a method for gathering specific information on quality of life in the locations of their choice. Suggestions might be to visit the area during the off-season, live there for a while, subscribe to the local newspapers, interview the local clergyman, mayor, and storekeepers, and look at postretirement activity plans to determine whether resources are available to carry out activities after relocation. Practical suggestions for reality-based information facilitate deciding whether to relocate.

The issue of family adjustment is another area in which the quality of postretirement life will be enhanced with preretirement information gathering. The individual whose retirement dream is to design and build a solar home in a remote area would do well to discuss the plan with his or her spouse who may have conflicting needs and desires to be close to children and other family members. Retirement is a family affair that will affect each member of the family, not only the person retiring. Yet all too often there is a lack of communication between spouses about feelings, hopes, and plans for a mutual retirement life style.

Information gathering for family adjustment can take the form of communicating at home with a spouse and other family members. If the spouse is present in the seminar, the work will be easier because of mutual exposure to content; however, communication between spouses will still need to take place in the privacy of their own home.

The final content area necessary to include in a preretirement seminar is health and aging. As noted before, much of the retirement anxiety is linked to misconceptions about normal aging, illness, and death. The health and aging module should include a thorough discussion on normal aging, with special attention to health practices that promote optimum health. Although this module emphasizes content more than information gathering activities, it needs to include some self-review and decision making regarding normal health and life style. Because the retirement cohort is often struggling with their own parents' illness, dependency, and pending death, an open discussion about issues involved with very old age (Neugarten, 1968) and death of the spouse is often difficult. However, the cathartic experience of such a discussion can free participants to make decisions about their own health and life style. "Now we are really preparing for retirement," is a response often heard after working with this topic.

In summary, although the seminar leader presents information through the various modules to the seminar participants, the emphasis is not on providing information as much as on teaching and facilitating skills for individual information gathering.

Planning schema. It is important to include within the seminar setting a structure for individualized planning. Without a structure that includes specific activities designed to teach and practice planning skills, participants are not likely to summarize their learning into a practical step-by-step action plan. Such a plan, along with the knowledge, skills, confidence, and motivation needed to create it, will provide the preretiree with an increased feeling of control over the pending change.

Social support. The role of social support provided by career development centers, social service agencies, families, and friends is finally earning its place in an understanding of human behavior (House, 1981; Russell & Cutrona, 1984). Kimmell, Price, and Walker (1978) showed that voluntary retirees with more positive feelings about retirement had more family support for the decision to retire. As yet, little more is known about the role of agency social support specific to retirement. The preretirement seminar leader should be perceived as a source of supportive information (someone to go to with questions when needed). Seminar participants themselves will support each other by sharing feelings, ideas, and fears they have in common. When the seminar format includes former employees and colleagues who have retired from the organization, these retirement veterans will also be perceived as a source of support. Retirement clubs linked to the organization by ties of collegial friendship and mutual service are yet another work place source of social support.

PROGRAMMING OPTIONS IN THE ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY

Organizationally based preretirement programs must respond to the needs of the retirement-eligible employee for: (1) information and skill development to identify and locate information; (2) social support from fellow employees, former employees, and information experts; and (3) a planning structure that will focus learned information into action steps. Individuals who design these programs need to be aware of the psychological needs and requirements of participants during the various phases of the retirement transition. Seminars are only one method of intervention, however, albeit the most widely employed intervention serving the preretiree (Benjamin, 1978). Some organizations back up seminars with individual or couple retirement counseling using trained psychological counselors. Seminars may be offered for specialized populations such as all women, or all couples. Resource centers containing self-paced retirement preparation materials, a small library of retirement literature, or retirement preparation programs by computer can be established. Because organizations possess unique cultures, however, prewritten programs will not best meet the needs of every organization. The authors have found that even in organizations with the same basic professions and types (Holland, 1973), because of differing geographic locations programs need to be redesigned, omitting and augmenting the information presented.

Given that career decision-making assistance has always been provided in this country in educational or industrial settings, it is not surprising to find almost a complete absence of community-based programs for preretirement and retirement. Formal programs in education settings are extremely rare, but do exist (e.g., Bynum, Cooper, & Acuff, 1978). The absence of community-based programs is particularly lamentable on three counts. First, there are innumerable workers whose companies do not provide any preretirement seminars or retirement assistance. Second, where companies do provide programs, many employees are hesitant to participate for fear of the consequences of declaring their interest in retirement. Will they be passed over for promotions, for inservice training, for new projects? Such questions keep workers from taking part until they are absolutely ready to declare their retirement time. In many cases it is then too late to achieve maximal benefits from retirement plans. For most aspects of retirement, planning should take place a year and a half to 3 years ahead of time. For financial aspects, planning and investment management should begin 4 to 8 years before retirement time. Finally, for the retirement period itself, the presence of community-based programs has a strong positive effect on the well-being of both men and women in retirement (Mutran & Reitzes, 1981).

In some educational settings there are programs that admit senior citizens free to courses on a space-available basis. Although this process does not give retirees specific preparation for retirement, it does make available the library and career development and placement center of a campus. There is no existing evidence on retirees' use of these services. Also it has not been determined whether these services have appropriate materials and staff to be of assistance to preretirees or retirees.

How can career development specialists be of use in meeting these needs? Isn't this the province of the community's office of aging, public health, or mental health services? Although such agencies are the logical providers of community-based services for preretirees and retirees, their staff almost never have the appropriate expertise. Career development specialists are located almost exclusively in educational and industrial settings. The programs described here for preretirees, however, can be offered in the community as well as in the work place. As noted, there are distinct advantages to offering such programs in the community. Public schools, libraries, senior centers, and civic centers are all locations that might welcome such programs, given appropriate staff. Career development specialists are encouraged to reach out from their school and industrial settings into community settings. These relationships may extend to providing participants access to informational resources available in a work setting (e.g., occupational information library).

Industries and universities that employ career development specialists may be amenable to allowing some release time for providing community services. There is a great deal of good will to be gained from such offerings. In return, the career development specialist has the unique challenges and rewards of working with new populations with new problems. Because there are so few opportunities for preretirees and retirees to participate in these kinds of programs, they are especially appreciative. Again and again, the statements and letters from program participants are deeply moving when they report how much their lives have been affected by the information and self-examination.

This chapter will close with an outline of the 18-hour seminar developed for emplpoyees of NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Maryland. The 10 modules take 1 to 2 hours each. They have been arranged, at times, into six weekly 3-hour sessions, at other times, into 3 full days. As noted previously, even though most of the information presented is generic and necessary for retirement adjustment, programmers must make adjustments to accommodate the unique needs of the organization.

I. *The Retirement Experience*
   Objectives:
   To offer participants an opportunity to:
   a. examine individual expectations for life in retirement, and

b. provide a focus for learning and exploring ideas through individual goal setting.

2. *Retiring From Goddard Space Flight Center*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
a. meet the organization's retirement benefits officer;
b. become acquainted with areas for decision making such as timing of retirement and insurance options; and
c. learn what is necessary to estimate a ball park annuity.

3. *Social Security and Retirement*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
a. learn what is needed to apply for benefits as well as necessary addresses and phone numbers; and
b. question a Social Security representative.

4. *You and Retirement*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
develop a self-profile in relation to preferred activities, competencies, commitments, surroundings, hobbies, people, and things.

5. *Time and Retirement*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
a. examine their current use of time; and
b. integrate a review of their self-profile with a projected use of time in retirement.

6. *Life Style Implications for the 70s and 80s*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
increase awareness in the health and environmental issues involved in planning for their later years.

7. *Financial Planning*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
examine their present financial situation as it relates to financial management in retirement.

8. *Your Spouse, Family, and Retirement*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
a. consider issues in spouse and family adjustment to retirement that have been shown to affect overall satisfaction in retirement;
b. identify useful communication skills for discussion of problem areas.

9. *Work and Retirement*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
a. analyze their work experience as it relates to need fulfillment and overall life satisfaction; and

b. consider salient aspects of their work experience that will need to be replaced in retirement life.

10. *Your Retirement Plan*
Objectives:
To offer participants an opportunity to:
integrate all information gained during the seminar into a reality based action plan for retirement preparation.

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SECTION IV:

SETTINGS

IN A VARIETY OF PLACES. . .

CHAPTER 15

Career Planning and Development in Organizations

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During the last several years there has been increasing interest among organizations in programs intended to promote the career development of their employees. Several recent surveys have shed some light on the factors that account for this surge in popularity. From management's point of view, career planning and development programs have several purposes. Walker and Gutteridge (1979) reported that the vast majority of companies they surveyed believed that career planning and development programs enhance job performance, help employees use the personnel system more effectively, and improve the organization's ability to utilize employee talent. Among the other reasons frequently cited by management for sponsoring career planning and development programs are to reduce turnover, to conform to affirmative action and equal employment opportunity requirements, to encourage employees to take greater responsibility for their own careers, and, finally, to respond positively to employees' expressions of interest in such programs (Cohen, 1977; Griffith, 1980; Gutteridge & Otte, 1983; Lancaster & Berne, 1981; Morgan, Hall, & Martier, 1979). When these lofty ambitions are combined with employees' recognition that work strongly influences the overall quality of their lives, it is not surprising that career planning and development programs of all kinds have emerged in so many organizations.

Yet even the most ardent proponent of career planning and development in organizations would concede that it is unclear to just what extent many activities have achieved their objectives. As Walker and Gutteridge (1979) pointed out, opinions regarding the effectiveness of various types of career planning and development programs vary widely from organization to organization. In addition, there is a notable dearth of systematic research on the impact of such programs (Brooks, 1984; Cairo, 1983; Super & Hall, 1978).

Despite the absence of evaluative evidence, much attention has been devoted to adult development, including issues adults confront in managing their careers. And an increasingly large body of literature is devoted to describing career development in organizations and specific efforts to implement various career planning and development programs. A review of this literature suggests that several key issues bear directly on the success of any organization's effort to mount such programs. Before identifying these issues, however, this chapter will begin with a discussion of several concepts and definitions relevant to our understanding of career development in organizational settings and a brief description of current practices.

CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

In the last decade there have been several efforts to conceptualize and investigate the salient developmental tasks that are confronted during adulthood (Gould, 1978; Levinson, 1978; Lowenthal, Thurnher, & Chiriboga, 1975; Schlossberg, Troll, & Leibowitz, 1978; Vaillant, 1977). Some of these approaches have enhanced our understanding of the issues that adults engage during the course of their careers. These theories, and others that focus more specifically on career development, are reviewed in greater detail elsewhere (See chapters 1, 2, 3). This section will describe, briefly, concepts associated directly with careers in organizations.

An examination of the literature on careers in organizations reveals that the term *career* means different things to different people. For some career is synonomous with advancement or vertical mobility, whereas for others it is regarded as a lifelong sequence of jobs and work-related experiences regardless of their direction (Hall, 1976). Adding to the confusion is the frequent absence of any clear distinction between such practices as career planning, career pathing, career counseling, career ladders, career management, and so forth. In an effort to bring some order to this disarray, Gutteridge and Otte (1983) proposed a model that distinguishes between institutional and individual processes within the organization. They refer to the former as *career management* processes and include activities such as recruitment and selection, human resource allocation, appraisal and evaluation, and training and development. The latter are referred to as *career planning* processes. Generally intended to respond to individual needs, these activities include occupational choice, organizational choice, choice of job assignment, and career self-development.

Schein (1978) proposed a similar, though more elaborate model based on the notion that human resource activities must be congruent with both organizational needs and individual needs in order to maximize organizational effectiveness while at the same time enhancing individual satisfaction. In his view, traditional personnel functions such as job analysis, selection, performance appraisal, and so forth should be intended to meet not only the present and future human resource demands of the organization, but the developmental needs of the individuals who are a part of the organization. For example, the success of an assessment center intended to evaluate employee potential would be contingent not only upon the extent to which it responded effectively to the organization's need to anticipate future human resource needs. It would also be judged on the extent to which it could be used to promote the development of individual participants, perhaps by helping them identify skills needing improvement, the positions most likely to maximize their strengths, or methods for integrating assessment results within a larger framework of overall career planning.

In a further elaboration of the organizational career, Schein (1978) suggested that each individual develops what he referred to as a "career anchor." Based on a small sample of business school alumni, he observed that from the early stages of a career employees acquire important self-knowledge that gradually shapes their occupational self-concept. Career anchors are composed of persons' self-perceived *talents and abilities*, *motives and needs*, and *attitudes and values*. Developing on the basis of actual work experiences in which these various self-perceptions are tested, career anchors become more stable as persons acquire more and more feedback from their work environment.

On the basis of his limited research Schein (1978) identified five career anchors that he labeled *managerial*, *technical/functional*, *security*, *autonomy*, and *creativity*. He concedes, however, that these categories may not be inclusive of all employees in all organizations. More research is needed to validate existing anchors and to determine whether or not others should be added.

Dalton, Thompson, and Price (1977) developed a model of careers based on interviews of professionally trained employees (i.e., engineers, scientists, and professors) whom they identified as high or low performers. Their analyses suggested a four-stage model. Stage one is described as an apprenticeship during which the employee depends on the directions of others and is involved principally in learning from more senior members of the organization. During stage two the individual establishes independence and becomes an individual contributor. In stage three the individual assumes responsibility for others in the capacity of mentor. Finally, the central activity in stage four is to provide direction for the organization. The authors contend that although some aspects of each stage are present in others, there are central issues that make each stage unique.

Another of their observations was that within most organizations there were informal and often unstated expectations about crucial activities (and relationships) that determined both formal and informal rewards. For example, although achieving career success and satisfaction might involve becoming an effective mentor, nowhere is this expectation formally communicated to employees in the organization. They argue that not only can discussion of these so-called informal expectations be helpful to persons in planning their careers, but that they should become a formal part of performance appraisals and training curricula.

CURRENT PRACTICES

Perhaps as a result of the rapid proliferation of career development activities in organizations in recent years, it is difficult to determine accurately the current "state-of-the-art." In part this confusion stems from a tendency to refer to similar activities by different titles and different activities by the same titles. Brooks (1984) observed that, although *career planning program* is perhaps the most widely used label for programs intended to promote career development, there does not seem to be any consensus on precisely what career planning means. After careful review she concluded that there were four commonalities among several definitions of career planning: first, career planning is an active, not passive, process; second, it generally involves some method of fostering individual self-assessment, career exploration, occupational choice, goal setting, and planning; third, career planning is intended to bring about movement and growth; and fourth, it is a practice that is useful at various points throughout one's life. In an organizational context methods for facilitating career planning vary widely, from special programs devoted exclusively to career planning to the incorporation of career planning *concepts in existing human resource functions.*

There have been several efforts to determine the extent and type of career planning activities in organizations. Griffith (1980) conducted a survey of the career development practices provided by the Fortune 500 companies. Because only 23% of the companies contacted responded to his questionnaire, it is unclear to what extent his results are representative of business and industry as a whole. Nevertheless he found that approximately 30% of the organizations offered counseling to facilitate career exploration and planning, 43% provided job separation (i.e., outplacement) counseling, and 56% had some form of retirement planning program.

A larger and more representative sample was surveyed by Walker and Gutteridge (1979). Among the 225 companies studied there was strong support for the concept of career planning. There seemed, however, to be a wide gap between what was desired and what was practiced. This was reflected by the finding that the two most common types of career planning assistance available to employees were informal counseling by personnel staff or supervisors and dissemination of information about related services such as educational assistance, equal employment opportunity programs, and affirmative action. Most companies viewed career planning as a serious need, not simply a fad, and an important part of overall employee development.

Even more recently, Gutteridge and Otte (1983) conducted a series of structured telephone interviews with representatives of 40 U.S. organizations to determine their career development practices. These organizations were selected because they were known to have career development programs; in addition, they varied in size, geographic location, and type of industry. The two most common approaches were career planning workshops and career counseling/career discussions. Each of these approaches was found in approximately three-fourths of the organizations surveyed.

Despite the number of surveys that have attempted to determine just how extensive career planning programs are, the answer to this question remains elusive. Most surveys have reported response rates of less than 25%; it's possible, perhaps likely, that the failure of the "other 75%" to respond was due, at least in part, to the absence of any comprehensive and systematic career planning activities in their organizations. Furthermore, because most investigators have studied primarily large organizations, the extent and type of activities present in small and mid-size organizations is unclear. Only Walker and Gutteridge (1979) are known to have made an effort to identify a large representative sample of organizations based on size, industry, and location.

Among the most noteworthy conclusions of Walker and Gutteridge's (1979) survey was that, despite increasing interest in career planning, it remains for most companies a largely informal, experimental, and fragmented activity. At the same time, however, among those organizations that have made a strong commitment to career planning, the most common types of activities are individual counseling, group workshops, and self-directed materials (Brooks, 1984). Individual counseling is provided in many forms, sometimes by external or internal consultants and sometimes by supervisors. Lancaster and Berne (1981) described a program at Disneyland in which a career planning orientation is followed by an individual consultation with a counselor to discuss employee educational objectives and career goals. Follow-up sessions with the counselor are available as often as desired.

Group workshops are another common form of career planning activity. Hanson (1981) described a comprehensive career/life planning workshop developed at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Participants are exposed to a variety of techniques and instruments that help them assess their interests, values, goals, and choices. Workshop leaders also guide participants through a series of activities intended to help them identify their *motivated skills*, that is, the skills and abilities they enjoy and perform well. Individual counseling, self-directed workbooks, and a career resource center are available to participants who want to supplement workshop activities.

In recent years the marketplace has been flooded with self-help books of all kinds. Among them are some that are designed to promote career planning. The most widely known is Bolles' (1982) *What Color Is Your Parachute?* Many organizations have developed their own self-directed workbooks that take employees through a set of career planning exercises. Employees are generally encouraged to work through the exercises independently and at their own pace, though frequently they are encouraged to share the results with their immediate supervisor or someone else in the organization from whom they can get feedback.

There is evidence of increasing interest in adapting some traditional human resource functions to meet individual career development needs, although this is not among the most common forms of career planning activity. Gilbert and Jaffee (1982) and Hart and Thompson (1979) have described how assessment centers, in particular, can be used for facilitating career planning and development. The data that are collected during assessment represent a rich source of information about a person's skills and abilities that have direct implications for training, next assignments, education, as well as finding one's appropriate organizational "niche." Similar outcomes can be envisioned for performance appraisals. Past work performance could be evaluated in light of short-term and long-term career goals. Despite the uneven quality and frequency of the performance appraisal process in most organizations (Hall, 1976), it is nevertheless a common human resource function that also has the potential for assisting individuals in their career planning.

Regardless of what method is used to facilitate individual career planning and development, several key issues will influence the success of such efforts. The next section is devoted to a discussion of these issues and their practical implications.

ISSUES IN DEVELOPING CAREER PLANNING PROGRAMS

Recent interest in career development in organizations has brought to light several important elements that affect all efforts to implement successful programs. Some of these elements are indigenous to organizations and reflect the inherent tensions between organizational and *individual needs. Other elements* have grown from the haphazard and unsystematic proliferation of programs over the past 10 or 15 years and from the effort to translate concepts, principles, and practices directly from the traditional contexts of career counseling to large business organizations.

Employee Expectations

Some organizations resist sponsoring career planning programs for fear of creating unrealistic expectations of advancement among employees. Yet the extent to which this phenomenon exists is unclear. A survey of 56 Chicago-based companies led Morgan, Hall, and Martier (1979) to conclude that many employees see promotion as the most likely and desirable outcome of career development programs and are likely to be disappointed if no new position awaits them. In contrast, Walker and Gutteridge (1979) concluded that raising employee expectations was not considered a significant problem among the companies they surveyed. Despite this apparent confusion, it seems safe to assume that for at least some employees the term career development is synonomous with upward movement in the organization and can create the expectation that participation will lead directly to advancement.

The presence of these expectations can undermine the potential success of any program. In addition to fostering resistance from upper management who fear career development programs might lower morale among employees who aren't soon promoted (Souerwine, 1981), there are other problems. Associating career development entirely with advancement diminishes employees' perception of the value of career planning and development activities during times of limited expansion of opportunities or when an organization is undergoing major changes that cloud the future. Ironically, it is at times such as these when career planning activities may be needed most. One of the desired outcomes of career planning is to prepare persons to respond effectively to changing circumstances by applying their competencies to whatever opportunities are available. The rationale is simple. If, for example, two departments in the same company are merged, creating many new positions, the individual who has acquired basic career planning competencies will be in a better position to make choices based on clear preferences than the one who hasn't. On the other hand, when an organization is forced to contract and positions are being eliminated, enlightenment about their capacities and aspirations can equip employees to be more flexible about using their skills and to take advantage of what opportunities do exist.

Another problem associated with the expectation of advancement is the tendency for employees to ignore other potentially valuable career goals. These goals might include anything from finding a different type of work to making more effective use of leisure to managing dual-career family situations. Such activities may not lead to promotion, but might well enhance overall career satisfaction in other ways.

Avoiding the problem of unrealistic expectations may be a matter of simply providing realistic and up-to-date information about career opportunities and increasing employees' awareness of outcomes other than promotion that can enhance their satisfaction. Hall and Lerner (1980) have suggested that realistic information about promotional opportunities coupled with realistic feedback on potential will alleviate the problem of unrealistic career expectations. This is consistent with the literature on recruitment that reveals that when organizations communicate realistic expectations to recruits, the turnover rate among the people eventually hired is lower than for those who have unrealistic expectations. Furthermore communicating both the positive and negative aspects of the organization does not hurt overall recruiting efforts (Wanous, 1973). These findings would seem to provide additional support for the notion that employees should be given accurate and realistic information about career opportunities if career planning and development efforts are going to be successful.

Responding to Diverse Career Development Needs

It comes as no surprise that increased attention to the career development of adults has led to the conclusion that there are considerable differences among individuals with respect to what they need. Campbell and Cellini (1981) developed a diagnostic taxonomy of adult career problems that included four common tasks (or types of problems) that occur across developmental stages. These tasks include career decision making, implementing career plans, organizational/institutional performance, and organizational/institutional adaptation. Each of these major categories is further divided and subdivided into more specific types of problems that adults might confront.

Yet an examination of career planning and development programs in organizations suggests there is little recognition of the diversity and complexity of the career problems of adults. Although strategies and techniques may vary, most programs have as their primary objective helping employees acquire, in one form or another, the same basic career planning competencies (i.e., self-appraisal, career exploration, goal setting, and planning). For many employees, particularly those at an early stage in their career who have not had prior career planning assistance, this approach is extremely valuable. For others, who have different needs, it can miss the mark. For example, employees with previous work experience may already have achieved a satisfactory level of competence in career planning. Individual and institutional needs change over time and organizations must be able to respond in a manner consistent with these needs and resist offering a standard solution to different problems. The implication is that an important step in establishing any career planning and development program is to analyze carefully the needs of the people for whom they are intended. Although this is an obvious point, Gutteridge and Otte (1983) reported that most of the organizations included in their survey indicated that they should have had a better understanding of employees' needs prior to program development.

The work of Ference, Stoner, and Warren (1977) on the phenomenon of "career plateau" illustrates further the importance of understanding clearly employees' career development needs. Plateau, defined as "the point in a career where the likelihood of additional hierarchical promotion is very low" (p. 602), is regarded as a function of organizational conditions (e.g., limited number of openings at higher levels) or personal factors (e.g., lack of ability or motivation). One of the most important implications of this phenomenon is that the career development needs of employees who have reached a plateau will differ according to what factors are impeding promotion. The individual who is unable to move to higher levels because of restricted opportunities could be encouraged to take special projects or rotational assignments to enhance specific skills or to broaden experience. Individuals limited by personal factors might be encouraged to explore career goals that don't involve advancement and still remain recognized by the organization for the contributions they continue to make.

It is also evident that the career development needs of "plateaued" performers will be different from those for whom the possibilities for promotion are still very much alive. The challenge for the organization is to differentiate among employees on the basis of their specific career development needs and match them with the most appropriate type of career planning and development activity.

Developing and Improving Skills

Central to any comprehensive approach to career planning and development is some form of self appraisal. Often this involves an examination of work related skills and abilities through the use of tests, work simulations, or structured exercises eliciting self-estimates. Whatever method is used, employees who participate in career planning programs are normally encouraged to review their skills and, in addition to noting their strengths, identify skills they need to improve. Although there is a certain logic to this approach, it also presumes that any skill can be acquired or improved given the right kind of training or work-related experience.

London and Stumpf (1982) have pointed out, however, that evidence suggests that not all skills, and in particular managerial skills, can be acquired. In a longitudinal study of the careers of AT&T managers, Bray, Campbell, and Grant (1974) found that some very important managerial skills did not change over time and were very difficult to improve substantially. Managers either had them at an early point in their careers or they didn't.

At a minimum, then, any effort to recommend methods for acquiring managerial skills must recognize that some skills are much easier to develop than others and that some skills might be nearly impossible to acquire. For example, shortcomings in oral communication skills might be easily remediated through a formal training program in one-to-one and group presentations skills. On the other hand, a person's lack of the ability to interpret complex information may be largely affected by aptitude and, as such, be less amenable to change regardless of the follow-up actions taken.

Although some factors affecting skill acquisition in the work setting are attributable to individual characteristics such as aptitude or ability, others may be related to aspects of the work situation itself. Examples of such factors include interpersonal relationships, budget constraints, degree of autonomy, and quality of feedback. It is somewhat puzzling that, in view of the frequency with which assignments are labeled "developmental," so little is known about how effective such assignments are, that is, by whom and under what conditions specific skills are acquired.

Importance of Information

A comprehensive approach to career planning and development must also include some effort to provide individuals with relevant career information. This is particularly important for adults. Herr and Cramer (1984) have suggested that in view of their previous experience, most adults are likely to be more aware of their values, needs, skills, abilities, and other personal characteristics than adolescents who seek career planning assistance. Consequently they are likely to have a greater need for pertinent career information than perhaps any other aspect of career planning. Too often, however, good information about career opportunities is missing from career planning and development programs (Gutteridge & Otte, 1983).

Walker (1977) described the kind of career information that organizations should provide employees. He expressed the view that effective career planning was contingent upon receiving descriptions of career paths, job requirements, training and development resources, appraisal systems, and job posting. Similar types of information were identified by Leach (1980), who also suggested that if employees are to be managers of their own careers, the organization must provide them with up-to-date, accurate, and accessible information about career opportunities. Information about career paths can be particularly useful. Although many positions do not have clearly defined career paths, information about those that do can help employees identify objectives, understand what will be required of them, and enhance their understanding of how work activities can further their professional development.

The Supervisor's Role as Career "Coach"

Discussions of career planning and development in organizations invariably turn to the issue of who provides employees with the guidance they need. Although many organizations use group formats in which the leader is at least nominally a specialist in career development, most rely on supervisors to play the role of counselor, adviser, or coach on an ongoing basis when the employee has returned to the job. Whether or not supervisors are motivated or adequately equipped for this role is another matter. Walker and Gutteridge (1979) reported that most supervisors didn't feel that career counseling should be part of their job. Moreover, 87% of the human resource professionals surveyed reported that, in their judgment, few supervisors possess the necessary skills to perform in this role. These findings are particularly troublesome because the supervisor, in many organizations, is in the best position to influence employee career development. Even those individuals who have participated in workshops or completed self-contained career planning materials require follow-up that could be provided by a skilled supervisor.

Hall (1976) has stressed the importance, for career development purposes, of accurate feedback on performance and potential. Of even greater value would be a discussion of job performance in the context of overall career goals and plans. This could include a review of performance dimensions in light of other factors, such as values, needs, interests, family circumstances, and economic conditions, which also play an important role in career decision making.

To realize the potential value of the supervisor's role as career development "coach," three conditions are necessary. First, there must be an incentive for supervisors to perform this role. In many organizations supervisors are rewarded for keeping rather than developing employees (Miller, 1981). Organizations that expect their supervisors to play a central role in fostering the career development of subordinates must be willing to reinforce and reward these activities. Second, supervisors must have specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to be effective coaches. Miller, in connection with his description of a training program for managers, suggests that they should:

- know about organizational policies and practices that bear on career development issues,
- know the information resources available to support career planning,
- have the skills and techniques required to facilitate career planning discussions with employees,
- have a broad perspective on career development with respect to its importance to the company and what can and cannot be done, and
- have struggled successfully with some of their own career concerns.

The literature contains descriptions of other training programs intended to accomplish similar objectives (Leibowitz & Schlossberg, 1981; Souerwine, 1981). Finally, and somewhat paradoxically, another strategy for making supervisors more effective counselors is to train subordinates to be more active in seeking guidance from their bosses. This is not intended to suggest a shift in responsibility away from the supervisor, but rather to emphasize the joint responsibility involved in career planning and the need to encourage employees to take as much initiative as possible in planning their careers. Whatever career planning discussion occurs between supervisors and subordinates, the outcome will be enhanced if both are adequately prepared. For the subordinate this might mean initiating a career development discussion rather than waiting for the supervisor to take action, requesting feedback on specific skills that might be consistent with but not limited to those contained in the normal performance appraisal, identifying specific questions about the organization and existing career opportunities, and getting feedback on the viability of specific career goals and plans. Clearly the organizational climate must be conducive to this type of self-initiated activity and the supervisor must have the skills necessary to respond effectively, but such actions by the subordinate seem an obvious extension of the active planning and goal setting that are nearly always a central element of career planning and development programs.

Monitoring Career Plans

One of the ironies of programs intended to promote career development is that the employee is encouraged to look at his or her work from a "life-span" perspective, setting long-term and short-term goals and generating plans for achieving them, yet few, if any, programs try to help individuals monitor the eventual success (or failure) of their efforts. There are too many factors outside the control of the individual to expect that goals and plans formulated at one point will remain unchanged over time. An important question, however, is how individuals cope with the inevitable barriers and discontinuities which they encounter. How should they? Storey (1981) suggests emphasizing "controllables," that is, those factors that the individual who is managing his or her own career can influence. Although this is important, an individual can learn a great deal about career planning by examining how he or she copes with discontinuities. Yet there is little evidence in the professional literature of any successful efforts to facilitate the acquisition of this skill, despite the fact that organizations seem particularly well suited to helping individuals acquire the ability to monitor their career plans. Ideally an integrated and coordinated career development system could incorporate methods involving employee review of earlier goals and plans in light of changing organizational circumstances and evolving personal characteristics, of barriers encountered and of how they were negotiated, what was learned, and how all of this could inform future planning and goal setting.

Evaluating Program Effects

The recent popularity of career planning and development programs in organizations represents a triumph of good intentions over careful inquiry. Several years ago Super and Hall (1978) pointed out that "in view of the great number of training activities in industry specifically devoted to career planning, it is disappointing that there is so little published research on their effectiveness" (p. 360). Cairo (1983) came to a similar conclusion in a more recent review and went on to argue for more carefully conceived program evaluations. Although the call for this kind of effort is common in connection with career planning and development interventions in any context, the absence of program evaluations in organizations is especially evident (Leibowitz & Schlossberg, 1981; Storey, 1979).

Several recent articles have summarized research on career counseling outcomes and offered recommendations for further inquiry (Holland, Magoon, & Spokane, 1981; Spokane & Oliver, 1983; Myers, in press). They report, for the most part, the results of career interventions outside specific organizational settings. Many of their observations and conclusions, however, are directly relevant and should be considered carefully by persons responsible for evaluating career planning and development programs.

Although it is not the intention here to summarize all of the conclusions made in these earlier reviews, three specific points are worth mentioning in connection with the issues discussed above.

1. Because so many different types of programs are referred to as career planning and development, it is essential that program evaluators specify precisely the characteristics of the intervention. This should include descriptions of the nature, content, and duration of the activity being evaluated.

2. More clarity regarding goals and objectives is also needed, including specific criteria for evaluating effects. Moreover, multiple criteria should be considered, for example, to identify particular behaviors, knowledge, and attitudes that are expected to result from a career planning and development activity.

3. Studies comparing different types of helping strategies would also be useful. Although this is potentially expensive and time-consuming (and rather idealistic), such efforts would help us determine the types of activities that are most effective in facilitating career development in organizations.

Although it is much easier and less expensive to evaluate career planning and development programs on the basis of their good intentions and popularity among participants, more rigorous evaluations are needed. Such efforts should ultimately become an integral part of every organization's program planning process.

SUMMARY

Recognizing that the absence of evaluative data makes any conclusions tentative, the following recommendations are offered for the design and implementation of career planning and development programs in organizations.

1. Program development should be preceded by a systematic and thorough assessment of the career development needs of the target population. This should include some effort to distinguish between employees who require help in obtaining the standard career planning competencies and those with different, but equally important, career development needs.

2. To avoid the problems associated with employees' unrealistic expectations of career planning and development programs, information about career opportunities should be honest, accurate, and up-to-date. Wherever possible this element of a program should include information about job requirements, career paths, training and development resources, and promotional possibilities.

3. Efforts to facilitate employees' appraisal of work-related skills must include the recognition that some important skills might be extremely difficult, perhaps even impossible, to acquire regardless of subsequent developmental activities. In such cases employees might be encouraged

to focus on finding positions that maximize strengths and minimize weaknesses rather than searching for suitable developmental activities.

4. Organizations that expect supervisors to take a central role in the career development of their subordinates should provide incentives and rewards for these efforts and ensure that supervisors possess, or acquire, the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to be effective helpers.

5. Methods for helping employees monitor their career plans should be a part of every program. This will require coordination among other career-related activities to provide employees with ongoing opportunities to review earlier goals and plans and modify them in light of any new information or circumstances.

6. Finally, there is a clear need for more and better program evaluations. Given the large number of existing career planning and development programs and the likelihood of continued growth in this area, it is important that we begin to examine carefully the effects of our efforts.

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CHAPTER 16

Adult Career Development in University Settings: Practical Perspectives

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> "We may be nontraditional students . . . but we do traditional work."
> —a "midlife" University of Michigan junior

A revolution is confronting the "tradition" of U.S. higher education (Keller, 1983). A major part of the change is that the university, once the domain of the young adult, has become the home for persons of all ages. By 1990 almost half of the projected 12.1 million students enrolled in 2- and 4-year colleges and universities will be age 25 or older (Dearman & Plisko, 1982). In this chapter, we focus on the "university" as 4-year colleges and universities. We examine first the characteristics of adult students and the philosophy and practices of the university that influence adult students' career and educational development. We then outline a broadened conceptual model and range of roles for career service providers to meet the needs of adults on campus. In the last section we discuss some unfinished business for the future.

THE ADULT STUDENT

Characteristics

Career concerns. Adults seek further education, especially at the university, primarily for career reasons (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980; Fisher-Thompson & Kuhn, 1981; Gaff & Gaff, 1981; Heffernan, 1981; Peterson, 1981; Tough, 1981). In an extensive review of surveys of client inquiries for service at adult educational resource centers, Heffernan found vocational concerns to be paramount. Educational concerns were usually expressed in relation to career and job development concerns. A nationwide survey of why adults sought further learning found that over half the adults reported a career-related need as the primary reason (Aslanian & Brickell). Family concerns were a distant second of the other six life areas surveyed. Adults reporting a career need most frequently chose the university or their employer as the primary locations for further education. Though the term "career" may encompass family, leisure, and other life areas, its use in these surveys refers primarily to occupational, job, and work-related concerns.

Individuality. Adult students are characterized above all by their individuality and heterogeneity (Blocher & Rapoza, 1981; Cross, 1981; Heffernan, 1981; Herr, 1984; Schlossberg, 1984b). There is no such single entity as the adult student. Adult students vary as to gender, life stages, life styles, abilities, interests, values, self-concepts, self-esteem, achievement motivation, risk-taking, goals, priorities, family responsibilities, employment status, financial obligations, civic involvements, learning styles, prior schooling experience, support systems, and a host of other characteristics. As individuals have more experiences over the life span, adults are characterized by a "fanning out," an increased differentiation, diversity, and uniqueness with age (Neugarten, 1976). Adult students have a great variety of personal characteristics and environmental circumstances that influence their career and educational planning.

Individuality is a key characteristic of adult students, but they also share some common patterns. Heffernan (1981) and Cross (1981) have provided extensive reviews and syntheses of the research on adult students.

Demographic characteristics. Compared with the general population, adults who participate in organized learning tend to have more formal education, be in their mid-20s to mid-40s, and be employed in better jobs. Adult degree-seeking students generally come from working class backgrounds and might best be described as "upwardly mobile" from their parents' socioeconomic level (Cross, 1981). They include similar numbers of women and men. Adult learners tend to be those who continue to use organized education because it has worked in the past (Goldstein, 1984). On the other hand, studies consistently identify adults who do not participate in such learning: minorities, the less formally educated, lower income adults, and the elderly.

Barriers to learning. Cross (1981) and others (Carp, Peterson, & Roelfs, 1974; Heffernan, 1981) identified three categories of barriers to further learning for adults: situational, dispositional, and institutional. These barriers apply to potential adult students in general, but are especially restrictive and cumulative for those who have had limited access to the educational or work opportunity structure, such as reentry women, displaced homemakers, minorities, and persons with handicapping conditions (Benjamin & Levy, 1981; Hall & Gleaves, 1981). Situational barriers reflect real life conditions, such as lack of money, limited time, demanding home and job responsibilities, needs for affordable child care, problems with safe and affordable transportation, and lack of support from family and friends. Funding for adults' education often is viewed as a discretionary income cost, not as an investment or obligation as is a younger person's college expenses. Adults usually are limited to educational institutions in their immediate geographical area. Job, family, community, and other responsibilities often take priority over educational activities. As a result, formal education often is intermittent, sporadic, and part-time.

Dispositional barriers include self-perceptions and attitudes of the person as an adult learner. Adults often believe they are too old and have too limited energy for school. Because they frequently are out of practice in academic skills, they are uncertain about their abilities and tend to over- or underestimate their capacities as students. In addition, adults often have ambivalent feelings toward the university as a result of bad past experiences, lack of familiarity with a university culture, or doubts about a university's willingness to respond to their individual situations. Again, for specific groups, such as reentry women or minorities, many of these dispositional barriers compound. Persons from these groups often feel that further education is for the more highly educated or financially able and that they are alone in considering further education (Ekstrom, 1972; Hall & Gleaves, 1981). Cross (1981) stressed that some of these obstacles may be more perceptual than real, but they nonetheless interfere with adults' efforts toward further education. We will examine the third category of barriers, institutional, in our later discussion of the university.

Career socialization influences. The expectations about educational, occupational, and other life roles that adult students bring to campus often differ for specific groups, most notably for women and men. Adult male and female students have been influenced strongly by differential career socialization (Follett, Watt, & Hansen, 1980). Both women and men may bring to further learning traditional attitudes about what men and women do or should do and what to study or not to study. Adult women especially have been at a disadvantage in educational and career development over the life span. Many women have not had a career orientation, an expectation for achievement, or a sense of self-efficacy (Hackett & Betz, 1981; Sundal-Hansen, 1984). They may have to overcome feelings that certain jobs or fields are inappropriate for their gender. Other adult women may have had their decisions made for them and have no self-concept of one who can choose and plan. They may have had little significant work life outside the home and be at a very early stage in the career development process. Some may have worked in a field that became obsolete while they spent 10 to 15 years at home raising children. Some may have experienced a life crisis or unanticipated event that triggered their return to school. Much of the influence of sex-role socialization for both women and men has taken place by adulthood, with profound effects, but higher education still provides an opportunity and hope for developing new life roles that are free from limiting stereotypes (Blocher & Rapoza, 1981; Follett, Watt, & Hansen, 1980).

Positive attitudes toward growth. Adult men and women face a number of obstacles to further education, but they also bring to campus many positive characteristics for growth. They have had more experience with life than their younger counterparts and have developed skills, preferences, and values. These characteristics may not be clear to adult students when they enroll at the university but can be identified with professional assistance from the base of life knowledge adults have. As Heffernan (1981) noted, many adult students have positive attitudes about themselves and their possibilities for change. These students may be frustrated, unprepared, and tentative about change but are willing to try. They may be reticent to embark on further learning and a new career, but once they do begin, they move forward in a self-directed fashion. They are willing to make changes under difficult circumstances when stability, not change, is the perceived norm for their age group.

Career and Adult Development Models

The basic career and life development concerns of adult university students are those of adults in general with the difference that students have chosen the university as a means to address some of these concerns. Thus, a full array of career and adult development models can provide useful information to understand the developmental process of adult students. Three models of career and adult development, however, seem to relate most directly and practically to the issues adult students are concerned about: life roles, concepts of age, and transitions.

Life roles. Adulthood is characterized by the complexity of life roles over the life span. Following Super's (1980) conceptualization, adults at any one time may play simultaneously the roles of child (including son/daughter), student, parent, worker, spouse, homemaker, leisurite, citizen, retiree, and a number of others. The complexity of roles is different for each person. For example, a woman may be a working single parent and a part-time student, or be married and a full-time student with no children. Adult students, then, must function not only as students, but they also may need to provide financial, social, and emotional support for their families. If they are employed, they must meet the responsibilities of their job, as well as seek enhancement or change of their vocation. If they are at home, they, along with their families, must meet the challenge of making the transition to the student role. They may choose to participate in community activities. They still will depend on avocational and recreational activities for growth and relaxation. Increasingly the term "career" has come to mean the ongoing development and integration of these life roles (Gysbers, 1984; Okun, 1984; Sundal-Hansen, 1984); it is this definition we apply in this chapter. Thus, adult career development is the valuing, choosing, preparing, and setting priorities for implementing, balancing, and blending of different roles throughout life.

Concepts of age. Adult students also are influenced by concepts of age from physical, historical, and social perspectives. With little biological basis for most age-related behaviors, adults are directed and constrained primarily by age-related historical and social influences on behavior (Neugarten, 1976). Age-related educational and career expectations are still deeply rooted in adult perceptions and are reinforced by tradition, stereotypes, and recent popular books on adult development (e.g., Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978; Sheehy, 1976). Age-based limits derive from the students themselves. Statements such as, "College is for 18- to 22-year-olds", "Adults should be settled down and on a career track by their late 20s," "Age 60 is too old to change careers," and "As a 50-year-old woman, can I really go to graduate school?" are common beliefs expressed by adults seeking educational and career services. Other age restrictions are imposed by university admissions committees, faculty, employers, and family. Though expectations are changing in the U.S., most persons still are affected by notions of what behaviors are age appropriate (Schlossberg, 1984a).

Transitions. Adult students often have had some changes in their lives that have led them to seek education (Aslanian & Brickell, 1980). Schlossberg's (1984a) definition of "transition" encompasses this kind of change: an "event or nonevent that results in change of relationships, routines, assumptions, and/or roles within the settings of self, work, family, health, and/or economics" (p. 43). Aslanian and Brickell applied the concept of transition more specifically to education as a movement from one status in life to another that requires the learning of new knowledge, new skills, and new attitudes or values. The triggering events for a transition are as varied as the individuals who experience them. Such events may include job dissatisfaction, a layoff, a divorce, a child leaving home, a denied promotion, or any number of adult life events. As a result, adults need to become competent at something they could not do before to succeed in a new status. Change, then, is a constant of adulthood; transitions are ongoing processes characterizing adult career development.

THE UNIVERSITY

A number of educators agree that the university is not oriented philosophically or organizationally toward the educational and career needs of adult students (Blocher & Rapoza, 1981; Chickering, 1981; Cross, 1981; Keller, 1983; Nowak & Shriberg, 1981; Peterson, 1981; Schlossberg, 1984b; Tough, 1981; Walz & Benjamin, 1984). Certainly, many universities have made changes to accommodate adult students (Cross). Some schools have greatly increased the offering of noncredit courses. Others have been designed specifically for adult students (e.g., Empire State College in New York, Metropolitan State University in Minnesota). Many universities have extension divisions with a primary responsibility for serving adult students. The number of programs for continuing education for women as well as women's centers have grown dramatically. Some institutions grant credit for women's life experiences upon entering or reentering higher education after several years as homemakers or volunteers (Ekstrom, Harris, & Lockheed, 1977). In general, though, changes in traditional university programs to accommodate adults have been modest (Cross). Public universities especially have been slow to adapt to the new pattern of adult part-time students with strong career concerns (Keller). Adult educators also are concerned whether the changes that have occurred represent sincere efforts to meet the educational needs of adult students or simply represent more aggressive recruitment, minor procedural changes, and compromise of academic standards to attract adults as a replacement for the dwindling numbers of younger students (Cross).

Philosophical Orientation

Age bias. The pervasive philosophical orientation among university administrators, faculty, and staff is still toward a youthful population of 18- to 22-year-old students (Peterson, 1981). Following this orientation, the role of the university is to provide guidance and instruction for developing adolescent and postadolescent youth. The student stereotype is one of a young adult with limited maturity and life experience. Students are viewed and treated as passive learners dependent on the knowledge, judgment, and direction of experts about what is important to learn and how to learn it.

In contrast, adult students beyond (and many within) traditional college age typically have had extensive life experiences. They have assumed the major roles of adulthood at home, at work, and in the community. They are accustomed to being in charge of their own and others' lives. They have served as mentors, managers, nurturers, and colleagues outside of school. As Schlossberg (1984b) described, the character of adulthood and the character of the university are out of synchrony. Conflict occurs between the university's rigid rules, regulations, and policies and the adult student's successful management of the independence and responsibility required of adulthood. Adults have the experience and preference to direct their lives and sustain their independence but must function in a system that expects and fosters dependence. The adult student is a paradox. When the adult and the student come together, the university tends to treat the student and ignore the adult. The adult student's management of other life roles is as central as that of the student role yet usually is not recognized by the university's prescriptive system.

The age bias may affect directly career services for adults. Career planning assistance often has an emphasis toward entry-level jobs for persons with limited work and life experience. The orientation of career service providers often does not account for the complexities of adult students' lives that place practical restrictions on career and educational options. Counselors are as susceptible to age-appropriate stereotypes as is the general population (Troll & Nowak, 1976). Counselors unaccustomed to working with adult students automatically may make assumptions about clients based on age and question the feasibility of aspirations, thus limiting the range of career and educational options adult students might consider.

Gender bias. Many of the barriers related to age bias in the university may also relate to gender bias. The philosophical orientation of the university is primarily male. Women may face a kind of culture shock as they enter the university based on male values, expectations, and models of teaching and learning. Special problems exist for adult women (and their younger counterparts) who may encounter limited numbers of female role models and mentors, lack of encouragement and reinforcement, discrimination both in gender and age, sexual harassment, and other attitudes and behaviors that adversely affect their self-concepts, self-expectations, and performance. Older female students in particular may receive subtle suggestions that they have too few productive years left for a program or a professor to invest in training them. Adult women also face the stereotype that they are not "career oriented"; they may in fact have not learned some of the developmental career tasks that are common knowledge to male students. The burgeoning development of women's centers and women's continuing education programs is evidence of the need to counter this atmosphere. Such programs have provided a supportive academic home and services for adult women beginning studies or returning to the university. In general, though, conscious and nonconscious attitudes and behaviors of many university staff communicate negative messages about adult women being in higher education and create a different kind of experience than for many men in what Sandler has called "a chilling classroom climate" (*On Campus with Women*, 1984).

Organizational Practices

Programs and courses. Many organizational practices of the university are manifestations of an orientation toward the traditional young, full-time day student. Program and course requirements, for example, often are rigidly structured, with little flexibility to adapt them to individual needs. Although a few colleges have begun to offer some alternatives, such as "weekend colleges," most continue to offer only standard academic degree programs and degree credit courses. Coursework-only options, intensive short-term workshops and seminars, noncredit courses, or certificate programs are few or not available for adults who do not need nor have the time or finances for a full degree program. Alternative methods of instruction and ways to earn credit, such as experiential learning, are limited.

Admissions and registration. Admission criteria, such as high school test scores and college grade point averages from many years ago, are inappropriate for many adult students. Traditional admissions policies may not allow an adult student to reenroll to establish a current successful record of academic accomplishment. Complicated, lengthy procedures for admission to a program or simply for registration for a course can consume much time, require days off from work, create extra child care problems, and discourage an adult who finally has developed the courage to attend the university for the first time or once again.

Scheduling, location, and assistance. Adult students also face restrictions in access to the resources of the university. Courses and services are offered only during the day, with few if any weekly evening, weekend, and late afternoon hours for working, part-time adult students. Courses and services are highly centralized, with limited alternatives for service other than an in-person visit to offices on campus. Because services are highly specialized in different offices across campus, seeking assistance becomes a frustrating chore of going from one office to another. Part-time students who are not on campus extensively often are disadvantaged because they lack knowledge about programs and services available to them. Adult students also often face restrictive financial practices: financial aid is limited to full-time students, full fees are charged for part-time attendance, and adults with families on moderate incomes exceed the limits to qualify for aid.

The Need and Prospects for Change

The need for change is evident as adult students, in their daily experience at the university, are on the periphery of the academic community. The structures, policies, and practices of the university often do not fit their life situations. They continually are sent messages that they do not fit into the university culture, that they are atypical and do not belong. They are marginal students in a system not adapted to their backgrounds, needs, and goals (Schlossberg, 1984b).

The prospects for change are both hopeful and reluctant. Though a number of changes have been made to accommodate adult students at universities across the country, the university campus is still notable for its maintenance of the status quo (Peterson, 1981). Changes in admission requirements or criteria may be viewed as jeopardizing the academic quality of the institution. Program modifications, more varied course scheduling, new services, and other changes require additional work and inconveniences to university administrators, faculty, and staff accustomed to a routine designed to fit their preferences and life styles. The reward system, esepcially at a larger research university, does not encourage effort toward such changes.

The university is still the major source of postsecondary education in the United States in terms of time and effort invested (Peterson, 1981). It offers much for adult students: a great diversity of programs and perspectives, the only available training for many occupational areas, the credentialing and credibility needed for different career fields, and critical life coping skills. It can open doors to minorities who have been outside the opportunity structure and to women who have realized later in life that they can be achievers as well as nurturers and can have occupational careers as well as families. Yet less than one-fifth of adults in the United States engaged in organized postsecondary learning are enrolled in a university (Peterson). If the university is to remain a major resource for educational and career development, it must become more accessible and adaptive to the needs of adult students.

PROVIDING CAREER SERVICES FOR ADULT STUDENTS

The preceding description of adult students and the university indicate the extensive student needs that career service providers must address. The needs require a departure from more traditional conceptualizations and delivery of career services. Career services for adult university students must extend beyond only counselors and other student personnel workers helping individual students in counseling or career resource centers. A broader perspective is needed of what a career-related service is and who the service providers are. An adaptation of ideas from ecological and educational brokering perspectives offers a basis for a general conceptual model of providing career development services for adult students.

Ecological Perspective

The career needs of adults within the university require service providers to take an ecological perspective in conceptualizing, designing, and providing services (Blocher & Rapoza, 1981; Lynch & Chickering, 1984; Schlossberg, 1984a; Walz & Benjamin, 1984). This perspective focuses on the university, its staff, and students as a system of interconnected, dynamic parts. Functioning in one part of the system is interdependent on other parts, and intervention requires a proactive stance to meet student needs throughout the system. Career services go beyond serving students directly to coordinating and intervening within the university at several levels, in several areas, involving a variety of university personnel. An ecological perspective on human services is not new, but the continuing call for such an approach by educators and practitioners in career, educational, and adult development indicates that the translation of model to practice in these areas has been limited.

Educational Brokering Perspective

The educational brokering concept, developed in the 1970s to provide community educational and career resources for adults seeking further education, also is applicable to the university. The concept, as described by Heffernan (1981), extends beyond the simple connotation of "broker" as intermediary between adult students and educational resources. It incorporates a combination of established ideas and practices familiar to counselors, educators, and others who work in universities. Its mission is the empowerment and self-determination of adults to make informed choices, use educational resources, and increase their capabilities to improve their work and personal lives. It is partisan to the student; service providers represent adult student concerns and are neutral to the institution. From this perspective, career and educational service providers play a comprehensive set of roles to meet the complex and diverse needs of adults. The core functions or roles, though not exhaustive, include providing information, assessment, counseling, referral, advocacy, and outreach. Services should be integrated and provided together.

Career services for adult university students require breadth and flexibility among those providing the services. It is clear that no one best strategy exists for such services. The approach used depends on the individual student or client group, persons providing the services, assigned responsibilities of the service unit, available resources, institutional structure and policies, and, beyond the university, the economic, political, social, and other conditions prevalent in the geographical area. To organize and deliver career and educational services, helpers should begin with a knowledge of their system and what different components they can bring together to help adults.

A Network of University Career Services

A comprehensive, physically and organizationally integrated set of career and educational services may be desirable but not practical or possible for many universities. However, a conceptualization of the different university services and units together as a network is one way to further develop a more comprehensive service delivery system to meet adult student career needs. University student services often are organized along functional lines with little communication between or integration of services (Lynch & Chickering, 1984). Students with complex problems often are faced with fragmented, compartmentalized responses from different student service offices. An example is an adult part-time evening student who has taken prerequisite courses for several years with the goal of admission to a university's college of business administration, has received marginal grades, and has just been put on probation, jeopardizing the student's financial aid. What are the problems? Where does the student go to resolve them? Adult students' lives and their career and educational needs clearly cut across the organizational and functional lines of the university. Service units may be functionally different and physically separate but should be viewed as part of an interrelated network with a common goal of assisting students with their career and educational development.

Network members. A network of career services for adult university students includes not only the counseling centers and career resource units but also the range of offices that provide services spanning the student's length of stay at the university. Units may include preadmissions and admissions, departmental and collegiate-level advising, financial aid, registration, academic and student affairs administration, and extension and continuing education units as well as advisory committees, student boards, placement centers, and alumni organizations. The movement toward more integrated services, especially at smaller schools, has gained some support over the past decade. At larger universities some services, such as centers for specific populations (women, minorities, older adults, handicapped, international students) and career centers have been integrated across functions to help students (Johnson & Figler, 1984; Lynch & Chickering, 1984). Adult student needs, however, often extend across a wider range of services than usually can be formally integrated. Career service providers need to provide the connecting links to bring together the different service units.

Intervention points. A broadened conceptual approach to providing services within the university seems a major task. On a daily basis, service providers are restricted by assigned job responsibilities, time, funding, administrative and colleague support, institutional policies, and many other constraints. Individual service providers and units need, then, to target the parts of the system they can affect. Helpers can start with themselves to examine their attitudes, stereotypes, knowledge bases, and practices that affect adult students. Office staffs as a group can look at their unit's assigned responsibilities, practices, and policies to better meet adult student needs and reduce barriers. Beyond any one office is the development of a coordinated effort between offices to provide problem solutions relating more to the nature of the students' needs and less to organizational boundaries. At the institutional level, units can organize together to modify institutional policies and practices that affect adult students.

Using an imperfect system. Service providers have the basic responsibility to intervene and assist adult students. Underserved groups, such as women, minorities, and the handicapped, especially may be in need of support systems to help them survive the traditional university. Walz and Benjamin (1984) also stress, though, that the role of service providers is to help adult university students learn and adapt in an imperfect world. The challenges of overcoming barriers, managing stresses, and solving situational problems help students to develop the coping skills they need for life. The university system cannot always be blamed for the problems adult students have in achieving their goals. The development of independence and self-determination requires students to learn how to best use the system, its people, and its resources to make progress. A university's policies and practices may be unfair and restrictive for some, but students must work with and around the system and not let it deter them from their central mission of furthering their career and educational development.

Roles of Career Service Providers

In providing career services for adults, a variety of university personnel must function in diverse roles. Some of the key roles, identified as important for the behavioral repertoires of helpers (Heffernan, 1981; Leibowitz & Schlossberg, 1981, 1982), are described here. The roles are general functions university staff serve for all students, but we emphasize particular concerns for adults. University personnel, whether counselors, advisers, admissions officers, or faculty members, should examine the extent to which they play these different roles as they affect the career and educational needs of adult students.

Networking. Networks are needed among both career service providers and adult students themselves. The development of a network among service providers requires effort toward planned, regular communication between practitioners; it might include daily business contacts and periodic programs to focus on a particular topic or problem affecting adult students. A coordinated, collaborative network can be informal, with each unit maintaining its own identity but benefiting from jointly developing and sharing resources. Service offices might share information about adult student characteristics and needs, training and resource materials, and practices that have or have not worked in planning and management of student services.

At higher levels, a network creates a group of service offices and personnel who can promote to policymakers within the university the career and educational needs of adult students. A network is a base for representing adult student concerns beyond the university. A network of concerned professionals can provide input at the state level to affect relevant programs such as state-based occupational information systems and financial aid programs. The career development and educational funding programs of local businesses are additional targets for intervention by an established network of service providers.

Adult students also need to establish a network among themselves at the university. They often have no vehicle to share common concerns, experiences, knowledge, and resources and to build a sense of community within the university. Career service providers can be the facilitators to bring adult students in contact with one another. Networking devices might include special orientation programs addressing campus life, academic survival skills, and other concerns of adult students. Career/life planning workshops for adult students might include staff assistance and physical facilities for self-managed, ongoing support groups after the workshops have ended. Support groups can be developed around common issues or target populations such as veterans, reentry women, single parents, displaced workers, or men changing careers. A lounge or general meeting place with weekly programs addressing adult student issues also can put students in touch with each other. There are a number of ways to bring adult students together to create networks among themselves, but career service providers need to assist in providing a reason and a place for establishing contact.

Information. Providing or helping students access information on educational and career planning matters is one of the most important roles of career service providers. Adult students need information about themselves, their values, skills, interests, and situational conditions. They need work-related information on occupations, training and credentialing requirements, necessary skills, and employers. They also need information on career and adult development: perspectives on career as life roles, the process of career planning, career socialization and stereotyping, the process of transitions and change, and other elements to help them understand both the nature of their growth and environmental factors that may affect it. They need to be alerted to the organizational and psychological barriers they may encounter. They need to know standard educational information, such as that on courses, programs, degrees, university procedures, and financial aid, but also information about the educational culture of the university. They need to know about services and resources available both on and off campus: counseling, student employment, special student centers, support groups, day care services, and others.

Concerning occupational information, adult students need information that is adult-relevant. Older students often want information on occupations beyond the entry level. They seek options that can use their prior experience, supplemented with further education, to advance or change directions. Persons with limited paid employment experience, such as reentry women, may need information about occupational and job areas in which they can begin, but they also express interest in information on advanced-level positions they can move into in time. Information requests often require more detailed responses about the gains and losses in choosing one occupational area versus another (including the current one). The costs of time, money, and effort, as well as impact on current life style involved in further education, need to be balanced and evaluated against gains in salary, advancement, work conditions, and future life style. For adults, educational and career information are closely tied; adults require a direct, practical translation of how different educational and career options relate to one another.

Because they frequently are bound to a locale by job and family, adult students need regionally based information. Traditional, existing information resources, such as the *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, may be inexpensive and readily accessible, but are less useful without supplementation on local labor market conditions, employers, industries, and further training.

Adults also need information about the changing labor market. They need an awareness of broad trends and emerging fields. Although the common pattern for adult students has been to explore occupational and educational information to fit themselves into existing fields, they also need to become aware of developing new options and engage in some anticipatory future planning. Adult students need to learn about areas of entrepreneurial activity and identify the education needed for such choices. Trends such as those identified by Naisbitt (1982) in *Megatrends* or Cetron and O'Toole (1982) need to be a part of the information to which adult students are exposed. Of course, whether students can consider such emerging options may depend on their life situation, short-term and long-range needs, and their risk-taking characteristics.

Adult students need information on a broad base of educational options both within and outside the university. A particular university may not have appropriate offerings or be practical for a student's knowledge needs and situational constraints. Career service providers should become familiar with a variety of other learning opportunities, such as local schools and community resources, alternative programs for adults, short-term workshops and conferences, internships, and self-study options.

Accessibility of information is a problem for adult students because they generally spend limited time on campus. In addition to traditional sources of information, such as college bulletins, Department of Labor publications, and in-person group presentations, career service providers will need to rely more on nontraditional sources. Methods of information delivery might include readily available telephone advising and information tapes; self-managed slide, videotape, and audiotape programs; columns specifically for adult students in the university newspaper; announcements in local and community newspapers; television and radio announcements and programs; and computer information and guidance packages. The risk in making information more accessible is greater reliance on impersonal methods of delivery. Career service providers should stress a balance of personal contact and other methods of information delivery to involve adult students more fully in the university community.

Beyond helping adult students identify and gain access to information is the important task of helping them use the information. Adults often have limited information inquiry, processing, and interpretation skills. They may have little sense of how the information relates to their lives and goals. They often do not know what questions to ask. They are unaware of the complexity of the response that an initial question may bring. Their ability to process and interpret information is sometimes limited because of their unfamiliarity with educational systems and career considerations, or a narrow view of career planning. To provide information effectively, career service providers must rely especially on their empathic skills, continually seek feedback from students, and help them understand the nature of the career development process.

Assessment. The role of assessment also is basic to most career service providers. Assessment begins at intake to determine students' particular needs and problems. It continues with assisting students to clarify their life roles, values, skills, personal and family circumstances, work and learning experiences, and other areas. Assessment for adult students draws more heavily on their life experiences than for younger students. Many adults have reality-tested in life their values, interests, skills, spiritual concerns, and life style preferences that can suggest new directions. Their major need is translation of their personal characteristics and assets developed from past experiences into terms relevant to work and other life roles for the future, whether they have been working at home, as volunteers, or in paid employment. From this base, career service providers can determine what further learning experiences are needed to achieve students' career goals.

A number of traditional and nontraditional methods are available for self-assessment (Fisher & Walz, 1982; Kinnier & Krumboltz, 1984). These may include interviewing and questioning, written work sheets and exercises, self-help career/life planning books, or standardized tests and questionnaires. Adults often have a preference for standardized tests; students have a layperson's expectation that an objective psychological test will provide a concrete answer about what occupations they will enjoy and be successful at. Tests may be helpful as a starting point, but they do not tap the depth or complexity of an adult's past experience. Methods for clear assessment of adult experiences to determine relevant components for career planning still are not well developed. This type of assessment must rely on more subjective methods to evaluate the personal characteristics and situational conditions that will be important for career and educational planning. Assessment requires more extensive analysis, time, and effort in assisting adults in career planning. To relate prior experiences to future career options and roles requires that career service providers have a more extensive knowledge of the skills, knowledge, personality characteristics, and educational experiences required for the different possibilities.

Counseling. Counseling is a broadly defined role for career service providers. Beyond traditional counselor functions, it often includes the roles of advising, consulting, and instructing. Counseling methods may involve one-to-one interviewing, workshops, support groups, courses, correspondence, computer-assisted guidance, and other structured programs. Persons designated as counselors might be adult student peers or psychologists, although a variety of university personnel perform counseling functions. Counselors help with a number of student needs, such as support, understanding of self-characteristics and situations, goal-setting, identification of alternatives, strategy planning, career/life planning process information, coping and instrumental skills, evaluation, and feedback. Part of the process is helping adult students understand their values and options in a changing technological and information society. The basic function of counseling, the interactive process between counselor and student, is to help individuals make decisions that are feasible, satisfying, and give meaning to their lives.

Counseling adults requires a balance between active assistance in solving students' problems and supporting their efforts to identify and solve their own problems. Johnson and Figler (1984) note that a tension exists between different views of career services delivery. One extreme is the approach in which the client has responsibility for decision making and development of career alternatives; the other extreme is that in which service providers take responsibility for seeking and arranging opportunities for students. Because of the needs, complexities, and uncertainties of adult students, an unintentional tendency can develop to overserve students with ready-made decisions on how best to proceed and with direct interventions by the counselor to solve student problems. Yet passive counselor involvement and expectations that students must solve their career and educational problems on their own can frustrate rather than encourage adults. Adult students may need extensive assistance initially but often are capable of following through on their strategies once they have a start.

For adult students counseling services should have multiple entry points. An individual student can be at any of several stages in career and educational planning, from initial assessment of self and situation to implementation of a choice already made to searching for a job for which the student is already prepared. Many adult students do not need all the steps of a general career planning procedure. Counselors need to rely again on a thorough initial assessment of the particular adult student's needs and adapt a problem-solving strategy or program according to the student's particular stage in the process. Though adult students may not need to work through all the stages, they need to learn about the whole of the decision-making process, so that when faced with future transitions and decisions, they will be able to apply that process to the new situation.

Past life experiences adults bring to campus may have had negative as well as positive effects. Adult students often need counseling to unlearn prior perceptions and skills that interfere with future growth and development. Adults may have negative, distorted, and restrictive perceptions about age, educational experiences, notions of work, sex roles, or self-concept. They need to examine the influences of their past socialization and of societal barriers that may have limited their options and perceptions. They may have developed nonproductive habits and skills for reading and study, information inquiry and interpretation, or job search. Counselors have the added task of assisting adult students with undoing influences of the past prior to or together with helping them manage their present situations, and guiding them in effective planning of the future.

Referral. Another role of career service providers, referral, is to put adult students in touch with other career and educational resources. Individual university personnel and units cannot meet all students' needs. Within a career services network model, service providers need to develop cooperative relationships with and rely on the breadth of other offices and agencies to help solve students' problems. Full use of the resources available helps maintain quality of services, meet students' needs, and limit the burden on any one service provider. The use of a referral network also helps adult students to increase their knowledge of available resources, gain understanding of the university and the broader system in which they must function, and develop skills for more autonomous use of the system in solving their problems throughout their stay at the university.

For effective referral, career service providers should have an extensive knowledge of what services are available for career, educational, and support needs. Services should include those within the university (career information libraries, financial aid, veterans benefits, women's centers, support services) and outside the university (agencies for displaced homemakers, local churches sponsoring job hunting support groups). Helpers should have evaluative information about other services, such as the quality of services or the kind of treatment students can expect from another office. Career service providers also are on the receiving end of referral. Each office should make its service offerings clear to other referring units, encourage referrals, and seek evaluative feedback on how other service units and students perceive the quality and practices of the office.

Advocacy. In the role of advocate, career service providers intervene within and outside the university to remove obstacles to help adult students with career and educational plans. A helper plays an advocacy role for adult students both individually and collectively. An individual adult student might need help with designing a special program, working through a complication in admissions, receiving consideration for special circumstances affecting financial aid, gaining access to a service not normally available to the student, pursuing a nontraditional educational or career field, or coping with unintentional discrimination or harassment by another staff member or office within the university. A complex, atypical problem may require the bending or waiver of a rule or procedure. At this level, the service provider is an advocate for an individual to work through a special case that does not fit normal policies and practices and that stands in the way of the development and implementation of the person's educational and career strategy.

The advocacy role also involves intervention in policies and practices that affect adult students collectively. Career service providers can play an educative, developmental function. They can provide information to increase among university staff the visibility of both the special needs and the characteristics of adult students. For example, they can make faculty aware of services available for adult students, develop programs to help university personnel examine stereotypes of adult students, and represent adult student concerns in the university governance. Service providers also can serve the functions of improving services and conditions and redressing practices that are discriminatory or restrictive for adult students. Often no clear boundaries exist between these two functions. Service providers can lobby for special services for adult students, programs for certain adult student groups (e.g., reentry women), child care on campus, or evening hours for service offices. Intervention also is needed to reduce restrictions on part-time adult students involving registration, scheduling, financial aid, access to courses and services, fees, and other areas. The role of institutional change agent is basic to an ecological approach to intervention. Career service providers should know the principles of organizational change to carry out this role most effectively.

When possible, advocacy should avoid a militant or adversarial stance. In attempting change, career service providers need to involve administrators, faculty, and other university staff who can help make the change. Advocates need to identify a clear target for change, indicate what can be done, and document adult student problems. They may need to give special attention to those who have been outside the opportunity structure: minorities, low income persons, women, older adults, and the handicapped. Besides their efforts with students, they can assist key people in making good decisions about programs and services. They can relate the needed changes for adult students to such issues as the mission of the institution, recruitment, and retention. If they are on the cutting edge of adult and career development, they should be able to assess the need for changes within the university that are more congruent with societal change and human development (Chickering, 1981). In the career development area, especially, they can help the university move from the status quo to more proactive strategies, programs, and approaches for adults. As advocates, however, service providers need to show how the change will benefit both the adult students and the university.

Outreach. Outreach includes increasing adults' awareness of career and educational services, increasing the accessibility of services, and promoting the legitimacy of adult career development. A primary barrier to further learning among adults is not knowing about services available to help them. Career service providers need to publicize their services more widely and actively encourage adults to use the resources available. Typical methods might include university publications and announcements and reports in the university newspapers and the local media. Outreach must be active, however, and involve more than simply advertising. Personal contact is crucial to establish relationships with other helpers and with the target groups of adults. Service providers can make informal presentations to referral sources for a better understanding of the services available and of the kinds of persons that can be helped. Other possibilities are presentations off-campus in different settings, such as community special interest organizations, women's centers, minority centers, neighborhood centers, churches and synagogues, shopping centers, community colleges, and vocational-technical schools.

Service delivery should extend beyond any one office. Career specialists can work as consultants on-campus with departmental and collegiate advising offices, orientation and recruitment programs, special student centers, student unions, continuing education units, and other offices that sponsor university-wide information and development programs for students. If possible, services should be provided off-campus with, for example, periodic evening hours at neighborhood community centers, libraries, and schools to increase accessibility and visibility and attract adults with career and educational concerns.

Beyond the outreach promotion of services is the promotion of adult career development itself. Many adults still believe there is something abnormal about a desire to change careers, to have more balance between work and nonwork roles, or to return to the university at midlife. A part of promoting adult career services is also promoting career development and learning of both women and men throughout the life cycle. Service providers need to increase public awareness about the issues of career and adult development, to help the public realize that continuous examination, planning, and change of an adult's career and life situation is a legitimate and normal process.

SOME UNFINISHED BUSINESS FOR THE FUTURE

That adult students with career needs will be coming to the university campus in ever-increasing numbers in the next decade is a certainty. We have discussed some of the problems of adult students and different strategies to make the university a more effective and encouraging place for career and educational growth. Some final concerns are whether adult university students of the future will be only like those of the past, and whether they will experience the same kind of educational environment they have encountered before. Needed changes in the adult populations to be served and the university climate suggest the unfinished business of the future for career service providers. There are some further tasks career service providers must add to their difficult assignment to ensure an equitable and humane university system for adult students.

1. Career service providers need to work toward more active recruitment and support of those adults who currently are underrepresented in the university environment, such as minorities, low income persons, the handicapped, and the elderly. Persons in these groups often are economically disadvantaged, and education is critical to their breaking out of the trap of poverty (Miles, 1984). Gradual increases in university attendance have been noted for minorities and low income persons, but the numbers are still small (Cross, 1981; Goldstein, 1984). The disadvantaged need support in, and change of, a social system, including the university, that perpetuates barriers to career and educational opportunities.

2. The emergence of new groups of displaced workers, many of them blue-collar and also rural workers, will become a growing challenge to university programs and career service providers. Many university career service providers, coming from a middle-class perspective, may not relate well to these populations. New training for current and future career specialists is needed to work effectively with these groups of adults. Cooperative programs between business and labor, such as the Employee Training Assistance Program and Career Counseling Program created by the Ford Motor Company and the United Auto Workers, represent additional efforts to meet the needs of new kinds of adult learners. In the

past, few blue-collar workers other than those in skilled crafts areas have participated in adult education, but the need for further education has become critical as job displacement increases (Goldstein, 1984). As more of these workers enter universities and as these programs expand to new companies, universities will need to become partners with business and industry to better meet the career and educational concerns of these adults.

3. Career service providers must give increased attention to the unique needs and differential socialization of adult male and female students for life roles and choices. Although the heterogeneity and diversity among individual adults has been stressed here, innovative programs to meet the needs at different life stages and transitions of specific groups of both women (reentry, empty nest, job change, elderly years) and men (midlife career shifts, forced job loss) are still required. As emphasized throughout this chapter, it is not sufficient to assume all adult women and men are alike either in prior experiences or expectations for career and education or in their experiences in the university setting. Especially for women, a number of conditions make the university an inhospitable learning environment. Many of these conditions have begun to be remedied by legislation, but many subtle attitudes and behaviors remain. These include sex bias and discrimination, stereotyping, sexual harassment, and a myriad of sometimes unconscious barriers that result in unequal treatment. These conditions have been well documented for several years in *On Campus With Women*, a publication of the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges. Career service providers must be aware of biases in testing, antidiscrimination laws (e.g., Title IX, Age Discrimination Act), sex-fair counseling practices, and other relevant policies and practices to ensure equity in education and careers.

4. There is a need to constantly remind and convince the academic community of the importance of career development in the lives of students. Studies repeatedly show the importance of career objectives for students of all ages, a trend that shows signs of even greater increase (Evangelauf, 1984). Yet fear of "vocationalism" has prevented many professors and administrators from acknowledging the importance of vocational goals as part of the university's mission. Through advocacy and educational programs, career service providers can contribute to a greater awareness of the career needs of adult students and increase the amount of support within universities for systematic, comprehensive career development programs. At the same time, it is important to keep a broadened perspective of the concept of "career." Chickering's (1981) belief that the goal of the university should be to provide education for the development and integration of the breadth of adult roles over the life cycle closely brings together the concerns of career and university education.

5. The core structure of the university needs to change to better accommodate adult students. Opportunities for flexible hours, reasonable transfer conditions, child care, transportation, evening and weekend programs, financial aid, external degrees, and experiential learning are needed

for adult students but are not always available. Career service providers need to work to integrate as much as possible these opportunities into every part of the university structure. Such opportunities and other innovative programs for adults (e.g., math anxiety, study skills, back-to-school programs) may be found on any campus, but their overall effect may be minimal if they are viewed as peripheral efforts or part of an "adult-oriented" auxiliary unit (e.g., extension programs) in which innovators are free to develop as long as they do not interfere with traditional structures and practices.

6. Career service providers should work to encourage new ways of teaching and learning as part of the change of the university. A number of new age thinkers have begun to suggest that society is moving away from the old Newtonian/Cartesian model of knowledge on which universities are based to new ways of perceiving and knowing. The old ways represent a rational, competitive, logical, and objective compartmentalization of knowledge that has characterized university departments and disciplines and has been acknowledged as a male "agentic" model. The new ways are described as more holistic, cooperative, compassionate, caring, integrative, and "communal," characteristics associated with women (Capra, 1982; Ferguson, 1980). Men, for the most part, have been more at home in the traditional university environment that continues to prevail. The traditional methods of teaching—lecturing, note-taking, testing—with the professor as expert in a superior-subordinate relationship increasingly are being challenged by adult students who expect a more humane environment in which to learn, grow, and make decisions. The studies cited earlier on characteristics of adult learners (e.g., Cross, 1981; Lynch & Chickering, 1984) show that such an alternative educational environment is preferred by adult students and is more compatible with their needs and learning styles. To achieve such an environment, however, will require a transformation in the way the university is organized and run.

Career and other service providers who work with adult students in the university system will play a critical role in improving conditions for adult students. Some of the practices and changes we have described can be implemented at the direct service level. The major transformations will require the involvement of administrators, faculty, and staff across the university campus, but career and other service providers who work with adult students, too, have primary responsibility to effect such changes for their students and clients. These service providers are in a position to be most knowledgeable about the processes of career and adult development and the concrete concerns of adult students. Representation of these concerns is part of their job. The role is a challenging and difficult one, but as Cross (1981) notes, those who want to make a sharp distinction between "traditional" and "nontraditional" students within the university will have considerable difficulty in the years ahead. Career service providers can play an important leadership role for a university of the future in which the terms "traditional" and "nontraditional" will no longer apply.

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CHAPTER 17

Community-Based Adult Career Counseling

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It is tempting to start by saying this chapter deals with programs not classified elsewhere. Given the wide range of both clientele served and service settings, this definition may not be inappropriate. However, for purposes of this chapter, community-based programs will be defined as any organized programs that deliver career services to adults who may not be affiliated with the sponsoring organization. The key is open access. Under this definition, a school district or university may have an adult career development program, but it would only be considered community-based if it were also open to people other than matriculated students of the university.

In this chapter we will discuss some of the changing needs of adults for community-based career development programs. We will also identify some parameters that program planners need to consider in developing their approaches. Three case studies of programs in Michigan are included to provide a more detailed picture of different approaches to community-based programs. The final section, implications for practitioners, contains a series of questions for program planners to consider in developing and evaluating their programs.

This chapter is written in a manner that reflects our approach to adult career counseling. It is theoretically based, but focuses on the realities and practicalities of providing career development services to nonorganizationally affiliated adults. For an overview of career and adult development theories see chapters 1 through 3 of this volume.

NEEDS OF ADULTS

Over the years the concept of what constitutes career development for adults has changed and expanded. Many of these changes have come in response to a rapidly changing society where future shock is a present reality. Also important are the changing notions of the meaning of work and expectations of the work environment.

Some of the changes represent a blending of the stated desires of adult clients with the perceptions of career counselors as to their needs. Typically adult clients, particularly those whose career change is not voluntary, want help in finding a job. Arbeiter, Aslanian, Schmerbeck and Brickell (1978) found the primary career service requested by adults to be lists of available jobs. Adult career counselors, on the other hand, who believe in teaching the career development process insist that clients take a longer-range view. These differences in goals don't have to conflict. Both the immediate needs of the clients and their longer-range interests can be served.

Recent data indicate that the average person changes careers 5 to 10 times during a lifetime, and changes jobs far more often. This clearly supports the need for adults to learn the decision-making and job-seeking processes. At the same time, adult career counselors must understand the sense of urgency many adult clients experience when they seek help with their careers. In an increasing number of cases this sense of urgency stems from real survival needs, as laid off and displaced workers experience long-term unemployment and exhausted benefits. In such situations, career counselors may need to become advocates for their clients. They need to know about survival resources (i.e., where to get food, clothing, and shelter), as well as occupational educational resources.

Even when poverty and unemployment are not a reality, adults anticipating or experiencing a change may feel a sense of panic. This could be related to a sudden perception of running out of time to make and implement career-related decisions. To illustrate what is meant by addressing both perceived client needs and longer-term process needs, a recent document that focuses on adult career development needs will be discussed.

ADULT CAREER DEVELOPMENT COMPETENCIES

In a concept paper developed by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education (Miller, 1984), seven components of a comprehensive adult career development program were enumerated. Under each component is a series of specific competencies. Taken together, these components can help practitioners develop or refine programs. The seven adult career development components are to:

- develop and apply skills for coping with career transitions;
- develop a commitment to and a sense of ownership of own career;
- develop and apply career decision-making skills;
- identify and obtain skills required for entry into selected occupation;
- develop and apply job search skills;
- develop and apply skills needed to adjust to and to maintain performance in an employment situation; and
- develop and apply skills for retirement planning.

The first component, developing and applying skills for coping with career transitions, includes some intangible philosophical and emotional competencies. For example, it must be recognized that career transitions involve several stages including shock and immobilization. Transitions must be accepted as a normal aspect of career development. One viable model for assisting people to cope with transitions has been developed by Schlossberg (1984). Helping people gain self-acceptance and understanding is an important part of the career counselor's job. It may be more effective, however, if counselors also help people with more concrete action (i.e., generating a list of transferable skills). Miller's list contains many such action steps.

WHAT'S OUT THERE?

By its very nature, community-based adult career counseling is delivered in many ways to a wide variety of clienteles. In this section a schematic way of looking at this array as well as several examples of relevant components chosen by program planners will be presented.

In Table 1, programmatic components are listed, using four basic parameters of program planning: organizational sponsor, clientele, services provided, and method of delivery. Program planners may view this table as a "menu"—choose at least one appetizer, main course, dessert and beverage. The lists in each category are not exhaustive, but it is hoped that they are comprehensive enough to be useful for program planning.

Two other important issues are length of contact and training or credentials of the counselor. These will be briefly referred to now, but discussed at length in the final section of this chapter.

Program planners do not usually have a choice as to their organizational sponsor, because this is generally where they begin. They also do not often have a choice regarding clientele. That is often fixed by funding sources or by the basic mission of their organization. Choices are more likely to exist with respect to services provided, and methods of delivery. Three programs are described below, which illustrate typical "meals," to continue our menu metaphor.

Union Management Comprehensive Program

A Ford Motor Company plant was scheduled to close in Sheffield, Alabama. In response to this plant closing, a broad-based career counseling program was developed. It was jointly sponsored by Ford and the UAW (United Automobile Workers Union). This cooperative effort was designed to assist the laid-off employees to locate new work or make meaningful decisions about their work lives. The program included the following components: career and personal counseling for individuals (families, if needed), job search skills, job club assistance, and targeted retraining programs.

Partly as a result of the successful Sheffield experience, and in expression of a joint commitment to this type of endeavor, the UAW/Ford National Development and Training Center in the Detroit area has embarked on an extensive program. UAW/Ford has established three regional Career Services/Reemployment Assistance Centers, which have comprehensive programs of testing, counseling, training, and referral. Their staff consists of both professional and peer counselors.

Table 1

Programmatic Components

Organizational Sponsor	Clientele	Services Provided	Methods of Delivery
Private agencies	All adults	Formal assessment	Individual
Business and industry	Women	Emotional support	Group
Unions	Minorities	Self-assessment	Face-to-face
"Y"s	Older people	Decision-making skills	Telephone
Public agencies e.g., vocational rehabilitation	Displaced workers	Job seeking information	Television
Schools	Physically or emotionally disabled	Job retention techniques	Computer
Colleges and universities	Prisoners and ex-offenders	Retirement planning	Professional/paraprofessional

In these centers, individuals go through branched design programs to lead to reimbursed training or education, job seeking skills, referrals, or reemployment. Thus to return to our "menu," the organizational sponsor is industry and union. The clientele are displaced workers. The services provided are formal assessment, self-assessment, job-seeking information, and assistance and referrals. The method of delivery is individual and personal. An interesting addition in this case is the direct training, through targeted vocational retraining (TVRs) and prepaid tuition for self-selected formal education and training.

A unique feature of this program is its funding base. The Detroit area centers are funded in part by federal dollars through the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Additional funding comes from the "nickel an hour" fund, a special fund earmarked for education and training in the collective bargaining agreement between Ford and the UAW. For information about the UAW-Ford Center write to P.O. Box 6002, Dearborn, MI 48121.

Computer-Based Adult Career Counseling

Oakland University's adult career counseling center in Rochester, Michigan, is "staffed" by four TRS-80 microcomputers outfitted with the DISCOVER II career counseling program. Graduate students assist with the software and hardware and, on request, follow up with individual career counseling. All of these services are available free to interested adults. The program has been used by laid-off auto workers, welfare recipients, and the whole range of job seekers and changers. A particular feature of this center is a pre- and postreferral system to more traditional counseling or academic advising resources, job-seeking skills, or placement services.

The DISCOVER II system includes the following basic modules: Self Information (interests, skills, work-related values), Strategies for Identifying Occupations, Occupational Information (brief or detailed), and Educational Institutions.

Telephone Hotline Service

"The Phone Number," a free telephone information and counseling service, was instituted in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1973 by the Career Education Project. Staffed by paraprofessional counselors, "The Phone Number" provided educational information on both a call-in and call-back basis. Counselors were available to discuss such self-assessment topics as interests and skills and to provide emotional support with respect to plans and hopes. Also they were to provide information about (a) the local and national employment future for the next few years, (b) listings of adult educational and vocational training programs, and (c) referrals for career planning help, vocational testing, or specialized services (i.e., financial aid or child care).

The target populations were reentering women, youth entering the job market, and older adults looking for meaningful retirement activities. However, all "people searching for ways to build a fulfilling future for themselves" were served. (Career Education Project brochure, undated.)

Sources of Additional Information

The variety of programs offered for adults across the nation is further illustrated in the executive summary of the Adult Career Advocates Training Program (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1978.) In addition to examining services provided in various types of settings for different groups of clients, the report highlights the coordinating and information disseminating functions of such networks as Catalyst and the National Center for Educational Brokering.

At the state level, several reports are available that describe model programs in different regions of the country. For example, Moore and Miller (1977) described a comprehensive career guidance model in Georgia. Also, Regan, Paltridge, & Terkis (1978) studied adults making midlife career changes in California and developed a checklist of essential community support services needed to make programs effective. In New Jersey, a model project was developed that combined principles of peer counseling and career counseling. Among the outcomes of the project was a handbook developed for peer counselors facilitating group career counseling programs (Office of Education, 1978.)

THREE DIFFERENT PROGRAM APPROACHES

This section illustrates in more depth a variety of approaches to community-based programs. The three case studies represent different decisions made by program planners with respect to programmatic components (see Table 1). Although all three programs operate in the Detroit metropolitan area, they differ markedly in terms of sponsorship, clientele, services, and methods of delivery.

Jewish Vocational Service and Community Workshop

The first case study, and the oldest of the organizations profiled here, JVS, is a private, nonprofit organization that has been providing vocational services for over 40 years. In 1983-84 it served over 5,000 persons (Jewish Vocational Service and Community Workshop, 1983-1984.)

Organizational sponsor. Despite its name, JVS serves people from all religious groups. It is funded through state and federal grants and supported by both the United Foundation and the Jewish Welfare Federation.

Clientele. According to its brochure, "JVS serves the aged, the disabled, the retarded . . . the recently unemployed, laid off or injured worker, the chronically unemployed . . . the refugee adjusting to a new culture, the student seeking financial assistance, the individual at a crossroad on his career path . . . the single parent, the displaced homemaker, the retiree."

Services. The career counseling services offered by JVS are broad. An individual seeking assistance from JVS fills out an application indicating the type of service desired. Those wishing career counseling are first seen by the supervisor of vocational counseling and then assigned to a career counselor. All career counselors have master's degrees in either guidance and counseling or social work. There is a psychometrician on staff who administers vocational, interest, aptitude, and personality tests as individually needed.

Method of delivery. The typical career counselee is seen every other week for an average of 4 months and receives assistance in both career decision making and job seeking. JVS maintains an extensive library of occupational and educational information as well as lists of job openings. Fees for individual counseling are based on ability to pay. The placement service is free to both job seekers and employers.

Special features. In addition to individual career counseling, JVS has a number of programs targeted to a particular clientele. For example, the displaced homemaker program is supported by a grant from the Michigan Department of Labor. It is designed for people who have lost their source of economic support through widowhood, divorce, or the disablement of a spouse. It is a three part program including 7½ days of assessment, 8 days of an employability skills training workshop, and an ongoing job club. The job club, based on the Azrin and Besalel (1980) model, meets two mornings a week to provide ongoing support. Typically people stay with the job club for 2 to 3 months.

Another JVS program designed to meet the needs of disabled adults is a community workshop where participants learn work skills and appropriate work "behavior" while performing assembling, collating, and packaging tasks. Participants in this program are paid piece rate pay as they work under close supervision. They are also provided with an array of individual and group counseling services. Participants are prepared for the job market by learning life skills (i.e., how to cope with criticism and socialize with co-workers).

The community workshop is also used for assessment purposes in evaluating the aptitudes, skills, and degree of disability of persons who have sustained work-related injuries. Such assessment is part of the Rehabilitation Case Management Services provided by JVS for insurance companies and private industry. This program uses evaluation, case management, counseling, and vocational preparation to help injured workers return to gainful employment.

Other special JVS programs for older people are for those who need help and those who wish to give it. The Senior Adult Workshop provides people over 60 with a work environment where they can find a useful job, new friendships, and support services in order to maintain their quality of life. Built into this workshop experience are health maintenance activities and group counseling. Door-to-door transportation is provided, if needed.

On the other hand, the Senior Service Corps is designed for older adults who have time and skills to donate. Corps members are assigned as volunteers to a variety of community agencies. They meet periodically as a group to discuss work-related and personal issues. Career counselors assign people to agencies based on their interests and abilities and lead group discussions.

The Continuum Center of Oakland University

The second case study is an example of a university-affiliated, community-based program. Founded in 1965 as a women's center, the Continuum Center over the years has diversified its clientele. Now men and women from young adulthood to old age are served. The center offers programs in personal and professional development as well as career development. The career programs are discussed here.

Organizational sponsor. Oakland University, a medium-sized state institution, includes the Continuum Center as part of its community service function. Although the center's offices are located on campus, its programs are geared to nonuniversity affiliated adults. The programs are usually conducted at off-campus locations such as churches, Ys, or senior centers. The center's funds derive from fees for service (for counseling and staff consulting), grants, and general university funds.

Clientele. The center's clientele are men and women from young adulthood to old age. Most young adults have the ability to pay at least a modest fee. The older adult programs are free of charge. Some of the programs are provided on a contractual basis through other organizational sponsors. These are for adults who cannot pay, such as displaced workers and recipients of public assistance. This wide range of clients has led the center to plan a variety of workshops. They provide a range of services from which clients may choose. Center clerical staff often act as intake workers to help potential clients choose an appropriate program.

Services. Since its inception, assisting adults with career planning has been a major focus of the center's programming. In many ways, the Continuum Center's development has paralleled the development described in the introduction. In its early years, when it assisted women in deciding about returning to work or school, its focus was on self-assessment (weighing interests, values, priorities, and desires). As men also began to want to increase their satisfaction with their work and their lives, a program for working people entitled "Careers in Transition" came into being. That program, still offered by the center, focuses on the self-assessment aspects of career change, but includes some of the job-seeking skills expected by participants. This aspect is ever-increasing in importance. A similar program, "Considering Change," is still offered during the day and therefore attended mostly by women. It is longer and provides more opportunity for self-exploration along with an introduction to employability skills.

Employability skills are also taught separately through an evening job hunting series that includes planning the job campaign, resume writing, and interviewing. This series involves more large-group lectures than counseling. The longer programs provide small-group counseling.

Method of delivery. The center makes its services available in many ways. It offers individual counseling. It offers structured group programs of 18–27 hours provided by paraprofessional peer volunteer counselors.

These peer counselors are carefully selected, extensively trained, and closely supervised by professional staff during their work. The training of these counselors was described by Waters, Fink, Goodman, and Parker (1977).

Over the years the center has increased its impact by training professionals in the methods and materials it has developed. Through a series of grants, center staff have trained diverse professionals around the state in career planning and employability skills for adults. Each of these training topics incorporate workbooks and a leader guide developed particularly for use with adults (Goodman, Uhle, & Walworth, 1979; Goodman, Hoppin, & Kent, 1984).

The Communication/Information System for the Unemployed (CISU)

The third case study, CISU, represents a large-scale effort to bring information and support to unemployed workers and their families. Southeast Michigan now is an area of exceedingly high unemployment. This program differs from most adult career development programs because of its extensive use of TV broadcasts and cablecasts as the primary information source and because of its underlying community organization philosophy.

According to its organizers, CISU has three basic functions:

1. to reach the unemployed and their families with current, accurate information on services and programs available to them under the Job Training Partnership Act or other programs,
2. to provide a new system of assessment, job search, referral, training, education, and counseling services in cooperation with the agencies, institutions, and organizations active in this field, and
3. to act as a regional communications link between those organizations, institutions, and agencies, including the private industry councils (PICs) and their staffs.

Organizational sponsor. CISU is funded by the Job Training Partnership Coordinating Council of the State of Michigan. Its administrative offices and sites for program development are on the campus of Wayne State University. However, CISU is operated by a consortium of organizations. Virtually every organization (labor unions, libraries, churches, social agencies, and the State Employment Security Office) that provides services for unemployed persons and their families was contacted when CISU was conceived. The Coordinating Council, the governing agency of CISU, is made up of a diverse mix of community, education, business, labor, and agency representatives.

Clientele. The unemployed people and their families who are CISU's clients utilize services in many different ways. Some may simply watch the cable television programs in their own homes and take appropriate action steps (i.e., utilizing stress management techniques, visiting a food co-op, applying for food stamps, following up on job leads, or preparing a resume).

Other clients view the programs at a job networking center in community institutions ranging from union halls to libraries, soup kitchens, and halfway houses. Each of these centers has trained peer facilitators to conduct discussions and help clients take action based on the cable programming they have viewed.

Services. Probably the principal service provided by CISU is information carried over "The Working Channel." "The Working Channel is a cable and microwave dish received televison channel which devotes 24 hours a day of programming to the job hunting, retraining and family survival needs of the 200,000 unemployed persons in the Detroit tri-county area." (CISU, 1984). Information is cablecast about job openings, human services available, and job and economic forecasts.

To supplement and help viewers personalize the information presented, networking groups have been established at viewing centers throughout the tri-county area. These groups offer group counseling and, in some cases, many elements of an ongoing job club. Community organization skills are taught to help clients gain a sense of power and enable them to affect the "system."

As part of its services, CISU has set up an information brokerage network. It is centered in the southeastern Michigan library system. Its purpose is to identify any service, program, institution, or information that could help unemployed persons. The information collected is communicated via cablecast, teleconferencing, and a newsletter.

Method of delivery. The reliance of this project on new technology makes it unique as a career counseling program. Programming must be adapted or developed that will be interesting and provide useful information to unemployed persons.

Peer facilitators who provide on-site group career counseling have had to learn many skills, such as how to use videotaped material, bridge from a "canned" presentation to a live discussion, lead a group discussion, and help people identify transferable skills. In addition to the use of programming developed at the central office of CISU, teleconferencing can tie center clients into the central office to communicate with each other. Through teleconferencing, service providers can learn techniques and resources from each other.

Although still in its infancy, CISU is being studied by universities, educational television stations, and many other organizations around the country. The hope is that the use of new technology will prove effective in reaching large numbers of adults needing career services in their own home or neighborhoods.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNERS

Program planners have a challenge! They are often asked to develop the best program for the least money in the shortest time for the most people. How can the necessary decisions and compromises be made to ensure good programs, at an affordable cost, in a reasonable time, for a sufficient number of people? We recommend returning to what we, as career counselors, know about decision making. Tiedeman and O'Hara's (1963) paradigm of exploration and clarification seems a good schema to use in deciding about services to offer and method of delivery. This is to assume that organizational sponsor and clientele are "givens." If not, these principles, with some translation, apply there as well.

Selection of Services

The first step is gathering information or expanding possibilities. This is the "pie in the sky" stage and it is a crucial one. As a program planner, what if everything you wish could be offered to your clients? What are their needs? What is the nature of the social-political-economic environment? What services are already available? Look through the list of "services provided" in Table 1 and the competencies discussed in the beginning of this chapter and in the appendix and decide on the ones you wish could be provided.

The next step, narrowing to a focus in Tiedeman and O'Hara's (1963) paradigm, might be compared to zero-based budgeting. What is necessary to meet the mission and goals of your organization? From "what is the most you can do?," it is important to look at "what is the least you can do?" Real program planning consists of a compromise between these two positions.

At this point, you may have chosen several services to provide. Repeat the process in relation to the more detailed components of each service. One example of this is found in the appendix. Specific competencies are listed in the areas of self-assessment, job seeking, and job retention.

Method of Delivery

In deciding upon a method of delivery, a series of decisions need to be made. Some of the choices and the rationale for each are presented below.

Individual versus group counseling. Working with individuals provides the most flexibility of programming. Each individual's personal requirements are addressed. For some people, the confidentiality of individual sessions is crucial. Furthermore, participants can progress through their individual program at their own pace. Groups, however, provide an opportunity for support and caring confrontation that is difficult to match in a counselor's office. In addition, the group can provide a richness of resources, ideas, contacts, and connections that no individual helper could master. A further consideration is the efficiency of service. Groups use less staff time.

Face-to-face versus technological intermediary. Direct personal contact with clients is certainly the mode with which most of us are comfortable. The advantages are: (a) familiarity for both counselor and client, (b) the ability to use nonverbal communication and to give feedback on nonverbal behavior (e.g., in rehearsing an interview), (c) the ability to change and modify a program based on changing client needs, and, most intangible but perhaps most important, (d) the personal support conveyed by a counselor.

The advantages of technological approaches are also many. The telephone and televison are anonymously accessible to most clients without travel. This may be particularly useful for the disabled, homemakers with young children, and people with severely limited incomes. Television can provide information efficiently to large numbers of people. This information can be delivered by skillful presenters in a form to which the American public has become accustomed.

The computer, with its interactive properties, offers other advantages. It can store large amounts of information and retrieve it on command. Through its branched design capabilities, it can allow a client to determine the direction of exploration or information. It can provide on command a written record of all transactions. Also, it never gets tired, bored, or takes a vacation!

Professional versus paraprofessional counselors. Professional counselors have, ideally, expertise in counseling, group work, teaching career skills, and giving feedback. They also have a storehouse of career development information and knowledge of how to access the rest. They have the capability to administer and interpret tests. For all of these reasons, they are usually the "method of choice."

Paraprofessional counselors may or may not have all of these skills, but they have one distinct advantage. Whether paid or volunteer, they are often peers or close to being peers of the clients. Therefore they can serve as role models and have a credibility that professionals sometimes lack. If an ex-con says you have to get that high school diploma, the person on probation may believe it. If Dr. Jones says it, "The Man" is telling the client what to do, and what does he know about the streets? Similarly a 58-year-old widow who has recently reentered the work force may have more impact on a newly displaced homemaker than would a young PhD. Under the supervision of counselors, paraprofessionals can provide extremely effective service delivery.

SUMMARY

In all of the foregoing we have only touched on the plethora of different programs that exist for adults in the community at large. This variety is exciting yet it also contributes to a confusion as to what is best in setting up new programs or reevaluating existing programs. It has been our aim to provide some dimensions to use in decision making and some examples of the range of possible alternatives. The examples cited will, we hope, provide practitioners with some new ideas or possible resources.

Appendix A
Competencies Needed by Job Seekers

Developed by the Continuum Center,
Oakland University*

A. Self Awareness/Assessment

Participants will:

1. understand the psychological impact of looking for work;
2. identify and list accomplishments and achievements;

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*Under a grant from the State Board of Education, Michigan Department of Education, Vocational-Technical Education Services.

3. identify and list their technical skills;
4. identify and list their transferable skills;
5. realistically assess their strengths;
6. realistically identify weaknesses, develop strategies to correct them, and minimize their effect on the job campaign;
7. realistically assess liabilities, identify those that can be overcome, and develop an action plan for doing so;
8. specify values and set priorities;
9. define interests;
10. know techniques for reducing stress related to the job hunt; and
11. combine self-assessment information and match to potential job target.

B. Decision Making

Participants will:
1. identify individual realities and practicalities;
2. be able to set long- and short-term goals;
3. know appropriate decision-making strategies for job search process; and
4. assess relocation, self-employment, civil service, and military service as alternatives.

C. Planning Job Campaign

Participants will:
1. be able to demonstrate knowledge of the sequential nature of the job hunt process;
2. know sources of occupational/educational information;
3. know how to establish, expand, and utilize an information and support network;
4. be able to locate employers who hire in their occupational area(s);
5. be able to identify job openings or potential openings;
6. be able to conduct an information interview;
7. have knowledge of information relevant to their identified area(s) of work;
8. define alternative ways of gaining needed experience and training and know informal aspects of the job search; and
9. set up and maintain a record-keeping system.

D. Communication

1. Oral
   Participants will:
   a. be competent in assertive communication techniques as applied to the job-search process; and
   b. be able to gather information and market themselves over the telephone.
2. Written
   Participants will:
   a. compile a personal data inventory including previous work experience, educational/training history, military and community service activities;

b. be able to complete a job application correctly;
c. know how to write an effective resume; and
d. know how to write an effective business letter including cover and follow-up letters.

E. Interview Skills

Participants will:

1. know what to expect from a job interview;
2. be able to translate self-assessment into an interview presentation;
3. be able to state clearly occupational goals;
4. know how to rehearse answers to both typical and problematic interview questions;
5. know legal rights in interview situation;
6. be able to demonstrate knowledge of organization and job responsibilities and ask relevant questions;
7. know how to dress appropriately;
8. be able to implement effective nonverbal behavior;
9. know how to develop an interview plan and apply it in an actual interview;
10. know appropriate time to ask questions regarding pay and fringe benefits; and
11. be able to utilize appropriate closing and follow-up techniques.

F. Job Retention

Participants will:

1. learn how to assess the expectations of the work environment;
2. be able to ask for ongoing evaluation;
3. be able to ask questions to enhance knowledge of job and organization;
4. know employer's expectations regarding punctuality, reliability, quality, and quantity of work;
5. be able to realistically self-evaluate and point out achievements at performance evaluation; and
6. know how to gather information and make decisions regarding occupational future.

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CHAPTER 18

Career Counseling Adults in a Community College Setting

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Adult and career development theories encompass rich and varied concepts that can help community college counselors understand and better meet students' needs. On the other hand, limitations of adult career development theories are exacerbated by the nature and scope of the community college.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE DEMOGRAPHICS

The community college is a comprehensive, public, postsecondary institution with an open-door admissions policy offering both credit and noncredit courses. Community colleges offer 1-year certificates and 2-year degrees in technical and semiprofessional occupational areas, academic programs for those transferring to 4-year institutions, and developmental education for precollege students with marginal skills (Chernow & Chernow, 1981).

The students in community colleges are as diverse as the programs. Consider Montgomery College, a 3-campus community college in Maryland, where the student enrollment pattern is similar to that of many other community colleges. Of the 20,000 students, 91% are county residents and 45% are Montgomery County public school graduates. In fact, 22% of all 1983 county/public school graduates chose to attend Montgomery College. Fifty-six percent of the students are women, 25% are minorities, and 16% are from foreign countries. The average age for students is 28 years. About 54% are employed full time, whereas 19% hold part-time jobs. Fifty-four percent of the students attend day classes, 32% attend evening classes, and 14% attend both day and evening classes. Fifty-eight percent intend to transfer to a 4-year college. More than 300 students take courses by television. Forty-one percent are enrolled in occupational programs (Office of Institutional Research, 1984). Thus, the nontraditional student—women, minorities, international students, older students, part-time students, full-time workers, evening students, commuter students, and students in occupational programs are increasingly the traditional students in today's typical community colleges.

ISSUES FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGE COUNSELORS

Despite the diversity of students and programs the community college counselor consistently encounters three categories of interrelated issues: transitional, self-concept, and logistical.

The characteristics of a transition as described by Schlossberg (1981) include the following: (a) role change, (b) positive or negative affective changes, (c) internal focus of control versus perceived lack of control in one's life, (d) on time versus off time with respect to an event being age relevant, (e) gradual or sudden onset of change, and lastly, (f) the degree of stress. Some examples of transitions include: reentering the job market, changing careers, returning to college to earn a degree, and retiring.

Self-concept pertains to the worth of self in relation to others and the empowering of self to make choices and accept responsibility for those choices. Some of the self-concept issues encountered in the community college setting involve low self-esteem resulting from poor past performance in an educational setting, a fear of being too old to learn, and feelings of inadequacy due to a lack of information about how to negotiate the community college environment or the job market. Particularly, self-concept issues are exhibited in the forms of:

- "A syndrome" where many adults believe that they must receive an "A" grade in courses or they have failed. This seems to be generally true of adults returning to school after a number of years away.
- "Role conflicts" where there is difficulty in integrating two different roles. Some examples are: retiree versus worker; wife/mother versus career woman; discontented but secure worker versus career changer; student versus worker; and married person versus divorcee.
- "Identity crisis" with the loss of support systems and uncertainty about self-image. An example of this might be a woman in her second year of study who loses the encouragement and understanding of family members and friends. As she begins to develop a new sense of self, conflicts may arise with family members and friends.
- "Nontraditional labeling" where discomfort is created because adult students are considered different from the traditional student population. They are sometimes assigned the status of an appendage to youth (Barton, 1982).
- "Sex-role and occupational stereotyping" where either college advisors or adults themselves limit their behaviors and occupational choices due to their internal stereotypes of sex-appropriate behaviors and occupations.

Logistical issues are feasibility issues. Adults are concerned about child care resources, ease of parking, hassle free registration, availability of a suitable class schedule to fit in with child care and employment needs and financial aid. In addition, adult community college students want to know that, if they take classes or get a degree, job placement services will be available at the end of the program.

Some of the services available within the community college to address these logistical needs are: weekend college (classes offered all day Saturdays), open child care centers; evening career advising; and extended hours for career resource centers.

These issues are "reality" issues that must be taken into account in judging the usefulness of adult career development concepts in the community college setting. A theory-based interest inventory that indicates engineering technology as a possible occupation is of little use if the student's occupational stereotypes and math anxiety are not addressed. Also, that adult student may never graduate if required classes cannot be scheduled to fit in with employment needs. These key issues need to be explored and resolved by the career counselor and adult learner together. The role of the career counselor must be to develop programs and approaches that focus on these reality issues as well as those of career development theory.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE CAREER PROGRAMS

Career counseling programs and services at community colleges are designed to meet the diverse needs of adult students. Some of the characteristic programs and services that will be discussed are: the career resource center, individual career counseling, student development courses, career and educational workshops, cooperative educational courses and programs with business and industry, and computerized occupational choice and information services.

The focal point of many community college programs is the career resource center. Career resource centers in the community college setting are usually open 12 hours a day and feature a variety of materials and services for adults. These include written information and books on job hunting and changing careers; audiovisual materials on job search; occupational or company information career files on a variety of occupations; "how to" stations; computerized college and job search systems; college transfer information; and job placement services.

Community college career resource centers also generally have a series of self-managed career/life planning activities to answer the needs of adults who do not participate in courses or workshops. After individual consultation with the career counselor, adults work independently on a wide range of issues. These activities generally take place in work stations organized around: self-assessment (skills, values, and interests); occupational exploration (library research, networking, informational interviewing); and refining job search skills (resume writing and job interviewing).

Individual career counseling is a valuable service provided in the community college setting to assist adults as they reenter college, seek job upgrading, make midlife/career decisions, and plan for the use of their leisure time during retirement. At some small campuses, all new students are interviewed by a career counselor to define career goals and select the appropriate curriculum. Often, career counselors use a host of career inventory and personality assessment instruments for diagnostic purposes. Some of the major assessment instruments used in the community college setting are: Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory; Myers-Briggs Type

Indicator; Self-Directed Search; VIESA Career Guidebook; and ACT Career Planning Program (adult series).

Student development courses offered at many community colleges are designed to help adults meet their educational and vocational needs. For example, at the Rockville campus of Montgomery Community College, adults can choose from a group of courses all taught by the counseling faculty. The course, "Options for Women," offers women over age 25 training in the following skills: time management, assertiveness, decision making and goal setting, networking, and career/life planning. In the course, "Career Development, Dynamics and Application," students learn to plan, establish, or change a career. Three courses address the need for academic skills: "Study Habits Development," "College Survival," and "Memory Development."

Workshops are also generally offered on career and educational issues. For example, "Career Life Assessment Skills Series" (Curtin & Hecklinger, 1981) is offered at Northern Virginia Community College. It is a group of eight noncredit workshops covering the following topics: Your Unique Self, Job Market Investigation, Job Campaign Strategies, Job Keeping and Revitalization, the Federal Employment Process, Academic Survival Skills, Mid-Life and Career Transition, and Pre-Retirement. The workbooks and audiovisual materials developed for these topics also may be used by career counselors with individuals and groups outside the workshops.

Cooperative programs with business, government, and nonprofit institutions represent a growing trend used for student placement, especially for older students. For example, "Jobs for Older Women" at the College of the Emeriti, San Diego Community College District, assists women entering the job market by use of a mentor network of volunteer business and professional women. Job applicants are recruited and advised and are offered services from the college's counseling center and community agencies. Individual mentors provide advice and modeling (Aronson & Eccles, 1980).

Cooperative education courses are offered on a number of community college campuses. At Montgomery College, Germantown Campus, career counselors advise adults who have met prerequisites to choose from a series of courses, with learning taking place in the work setting. Courses are offered in accounting, computer science, electromechanical technology, and business. The courses help link adult students with employers. Thus, adults are given the opportunity to integrate classroom theory with real life work applications. The student earns academic credit and is evaluated by the employer.

Other community college programs and services include career information, outreach activities, and employment services. Career information is provided by various means. One approach to occupational choice is through the use of a computer system such as Inform (a local and nationwide career information delivery system) or COIN (College Occupational Information Network). At Montgomery College, Rockville Campus, a faculty member is selected and given time to be an occupational program specialist. In this role, the faculty member serves as liaison with the occupational program coordinators and the career counselors. The occupational program specialist conducts needs assessments, suggests career development interventions and strategies, plans and coordinates career fairs, and updates curricular and employment information. Another approach to providing career information is for career counselors to maintain alumni banks of graduates as referrals to provide occupational information. In addition, newsletters are used to inform adults about employment trends, job information, occupational profiles, career development events, and related adult career development issues such as test anxiety, time management skills, and stress coping skills.

In providing outreach, the role of the career counselor is expanding. Community college career counselors speak to homemaker groups, county organizations, civic clubs, government agencies, union members, and employers about employment trends, the career/life planning process, and resources of the community college. In rural areas, adults are served by mobile career vans equipped with occupational literature, filmstrips, cassettes, and self-help career/life planning stations.

Employment or placement services at the community college's career center take many forms. The range is from bulletin boards with job listings to computerized data banks of local job opportunities to elaborate systems of matching students' credential files to employer needs from the on-campus interviewing program. The emphasis is generally on employment and employer information.

CHANGING ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE CAREER COUNSELOR

In developing programs and approaches, the career counselor at the community college assumes many roles. One role may be that of a personal counselor who must deal with personal issues and their immediate effect on the student. Another role may be that of a career development skills instructor. Still another may be the role of program developer and manager. A fourth role is that of an immediate problem solver. Finally, there is the role of community referral agent.

In today's rapidly changing college and work environment the nontraditional student of the past is becoming today's traditional student. Career development services must reflect a multidimensional perspective of change, rely on theoretical foundations, and incorporate key reality issues. Career development resource centers, courses, workshops, self-managed activities, cooperative programs, information, and outreach and employment efforts are but a few examples of career development services. These focus on transformative change while linking the adult student with the career life planning process. The goals of any career development program should be to meet the specialized needs of the target population and to promote a rewarding life style with a corresponding positive self-concept.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CAREER COUNSELING TRAINING

Listed below are some training implications for career counselor education:

- At the graduate school level, career counselors planning to work with adults should take required courses in adult and career development (with emphasis on sex role socialization).
- Materials used in career counselor training should include all client populations and be carefully reviewed for bias.
- A practicum should be required in career counseling of adults.

Some implications for practicing career counselors are:

- Career counselors should have periodic inservice training on adult development, nonbiased career counseling practices, and job market information.
- Theories of career development need to be reviewed for applicability to diverse student populations.
- Career counselors must examine their attitudes toward diverse client groups (i.e., women, the aged, the handicapped, and minorities).
- Career counsleors should be familiar with current literature regarding stereotyping, developmental needs, career/life planning theory, and employment trends.
- Career counselors must perceive themselves as change agents: (a) this includes career counselors taking a proactive role in developing strategies and procedures to deal with transition, self-concept, and logistical issues. Some examples include: job clubs for students, opportunity seminars for entering nontraditional fields, and dress-for-success workshops; (b) it also includes career counselors becoming involved in career curriculum development (i.e., consulting with advisory boards and faculty); (c) finally, it also means that career counselors must push for change in their own work place (i.e., alternative work patterns, flextime, increased child care options, and job sharing).
- Community college counselors have to concern themselves with the assumptions and technological implications of androgogy, the art and science of helping adults learn (Knowles, 1977).

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe the demographics of the community college student population, to point out three interrelated reality-based issues, to describe some typical community college programs and services, and finally, to discuss the changing roles of the community college career counselor. Although only brief descriptions and elaborations of these areas were possible, it is hoped that the reader has an increased understanding of career counseling in the community college setting.

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SECTION V:

TRAINING PROGRAMS

PREPARING OURSELVES . . .

CHAPTER 19

The New Career Development Professional: A Training Model

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In the recent past, numerous changes have emerged to affect the career development professional. These changes include developmental changes, technological changes, economic changes, cultural changes, and demographic changes. Coupled with today's economic uncertainty, diminished resources, increased education and underemployment, higher divorce rates, and increased numbers of women in the work force there is a need to both understand the impact of these changes and to help prepare adults for contiual change. The one thing that is certain about future employment is change. People will have to be able to adapt to the changing environment.

In this chapter, we will examine some of these changes and how they have influenced individuals, organizations, and career development professionals. (See Figure 1.) A new clientele in different settings and new activities have led to the need for a new career development professional with new skills. (See Figure 2). An example of a program designed to train the new career development professional will be presented.

CHANGES AFFECTING THE CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROFESSIONAL

Technological Changes

Technological innovations in the work place represent one of the major changes affecting the careers of adults. The world's technology is doubling every 20 years. Increased automation and robotics are beginning to pervade American life. The number of Americans employed in the industrial sector is falling sharply whereas the number of people in the information sector of the economy is rising just as sharply. The office is replacing the factory as the center of the economy. In fact, more than

Figure 1

The Growth of the Career Development Profession

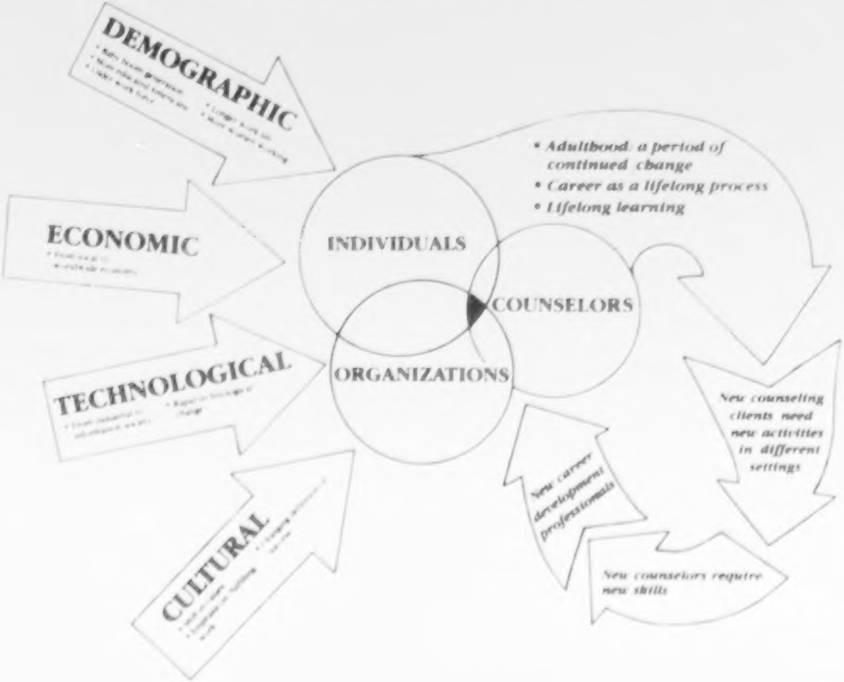
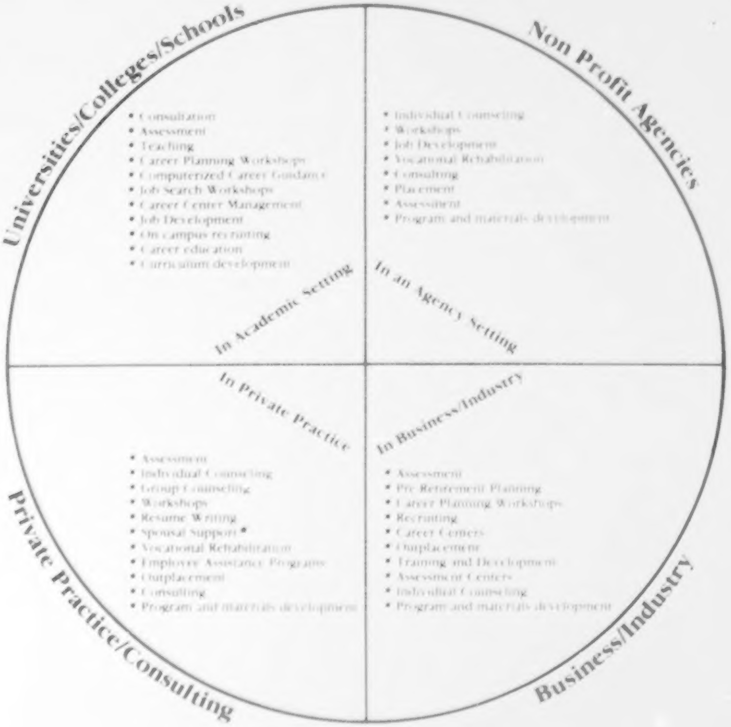

DEMOGRAPHIC
ECONOMIC
TECHNOLOGICAL
CULTURAL
INDIVIDUALS
COUNSELORS
ORGANIZATIONS
• Adulthood: a period of continued change
• Career as a lifelong process
• Lifelong learning
New counseling clients need new activities in different settings
New counselors require new skills
New career development professionals

Figure 2

Career Development: Settings and Activities


Universities/Colleges/Schools
• Consultation
• Assessment
• Teaching
• Career Planning Workshops
• Computerized Career Guidance
• Job Search Workshops
• Career Center Management
• Job Development
• On campus recruiting
• Career education
• Curriculum development
In Academic Setting
Non Profit Agencies
• Individual Counseling
• Workshops
• Job Development
• Vocational Rehabilitation
• Consulting
• Placement
• Assessment
• Program and materials development
In an Agency Setting
In Private Practice
• Assessment
• Individual Counseling
• Group Counseling
• Workshops
• Resume Writing
• Spousal Support*
• Vocational Rehabilitation
• Employee Assistance Programs
• Outplacement
• Consulting
• Program and materials development
Private Practice/Consulting
In Business/Industry
• Assessment
• Pre Retirement Planning
• Career Planning Workshops
• Recruiting
• Career Centers
• Outplacement
• Training and Development
• Assessment Centers
• Individual Counseling
• Program and materials development
Business/Industry

*(In states where career assessment is allowed in divorce litigation.)

half of the national work force collects, manipulates, and disseminates information.

The skills required for the careers of the 1980s and beyond will continue to shift. Many low-skill, low-education jobs will disappear and many new jobs will emerge requiring additional training and skills. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, rapid growth is expected to contuinue through 1990 in jobs for white-collar and professional workers and for service workers, whereas blue-collar workers and farm workers will continue to disappear from the work force.

As manufacturing becomes more automated, workers will have to shift to new jobs in the information and service sector. That includes banking, accounting, insurance, and real estate; hotels, restaurants, and airlines; medicine, law, and engineering; data processing, word processing, publishing, and broadcasting.

As the United States continues to move from an industrial society to an informational society, many new positions will emerge. Scientists, mathematicians, engineers, computer analysts, and designers will be in great demand to continually create and advance the expanding technology. More and more paraprofessional technicians will be needed for the high technology industries. Computer repair technicians, computer operators, chemistry and engineering technicians, and biomedical technicians will be in demand to keep the information society running smoothly. Sales, marketing, and training personnel will also be needed to service management information systems and to train people to understand, use, and adjust to the advent of comptuers in their lives.

These technological changes in the work place mean changes in the ways people are employed, responsibilities are assigneed to them, and work skills are required of them. These changes are forecasted to continue and may require a lifetime of learning and retraining.

Economic Changes

The greatest economic change that has affected the career development of adults is the move from a local economy to a world econmy. The United States is increasingly becoming part of a global world marketplace. The economy used to be predominantly local and internal; the United States consumed most of what it produced and produced most of what it consumed. That is changing rapidly. As the United States becomes more of an importer/exporter of basic goods, jobs are disappearing permanently from such huge industries as steel and automobiles, leaving many people unemployed and without employable job skills. These individuals are forced to seek retraining to become job-marketable in a society that no longer needs the skills they possess.

Cultural Changes

A number of cultural changes have occurred that influence the career deveopment of individuals. Some of these changes are a shift in work values, emphasis on fulfiliing work, changing definition of success, growing acceptance of career change, and an increase in dual-career couples.

In a world of increasingly rapid change and high mobility, ideas about what makes a successful career and the meaning of work itself are being reevaluated. With a general rise in socioeconomic status and educational levels, more people have rising expectations about what constitutes a happy and fulfilling life. People are questioning their happiness at work and are seeking more meaning through their work.

Yankelovich (1979) indicated that the meaning of work has changed for many individuals. These changes include revised definitions of success that place less emphasis on material achievement and more emphasis on personal fulfillment. His research suggests that people are looking for three main psychological benefits from their work: an opportunity to advance to more interesting and satisfying work; a desire to do a good job; and a yearning to find self-fulfillment through meaningful work. He writes that workers want to become involved, committed, and challenged in their work, and want greater participation in decision making on the job.

A more highly educated work force implies growing interest in jobs that provide opportunities for use of abilities, self-expression, and fulfillment, along with traditional economic and material rewards. People have always worked for economic reasons, but now, in addition to the economic motive, there is a powerful psycholgical desire for self-actualization. Its effects are a change in work values and an emphasis on the quality of work life.

Along with the emphasis on fulfilling work has been a growing acceptance of career change. In the past, it was assumed that people chose one career that would last all their adult lives until retirement. Today, the average worker will change careers three to five times in a lifetime, and more people are thinking in terms of long-range, second, and multiple careers. Women who have reared children, along with both men and women whose careers have provided financial security but not a sense of accomplishment, will be increasingly likely to seek second careers in which they can find fulfillment. There is a growing trend toward job changes in midcareer as people seek career satisfaction and a higher quality of life.

For many, the midlife period may be a time of transition to reappraise lives, values, goals, and careers (Levinson, 1977). This reappraisal may lead to midcareer change. Incompatible interests with a current career, a desire to have more control over the future, and a desire to find more meaningful work influence an individual to change careers (Neapolitan, 1980; Osherson, 1980).

Another cultural change has been the emergence of dual-career couples. More than 40% of married couples in the United States are both pursuing careers; social indicators suggest that these dual-career couples will continue to rise in number. Increasing numbers of women are preparing for careers by continuing their education, and higher levels of education are associated with increasing numbers of women who are entering professional fields. Because professional women are likely to marry professional men, the dual-career pattern will become more and more prevalent in this society. This change is forcing husbands and wives to give increasing attention to how to manage their dual-career families (Rapaport & Rapaport, 1976).

Demographic Changes

The United States is becoming a nation of adults. Profound demographic shifts are pushing the average age of the population and work force upward. By the year 2000, the largest age group will be 25–44-year-olds, with a rising curve for 45–64-year-olds.

Because of the low birthrate of the 1960s, the number of young workers aged 18–24 is expected to decline from 29 million to 24 million by 1990. In addition, the baby boom generation is moving into the adult years and there is a sharp increase in workers in the 25–44 age bracket. The proportion of the work force aged 25–44 will increase by 10 percentage points from 1975–1990 so that by the 1990s it will constitute about 53% of the total work force (Freeman, 1979).

These factors will have far-reaching consequences for the job market. Individuals in the 25–44-year-old range will undoubtedly face fierce competition for promotions and supervisory positions, and many may face problems obtaining jobs in the professional and managerial arena. They will have to compete in an increasingly dense labor market environment. Only a limited number of workers will progress to higher positions, competition will be intense, and disappointment widespread. The enormous size of this group—over 50% of the work force—will make its career concerns impossible to ignore.

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the population aged 65 and over will increase steadily from 24 million in 1978 to more than 29 million by 1990. Also, the number of people aged 55–64 will continue to rise. Between 1900 and 1980 the life expectancy of Americans increased more than 40%. Advances in nutrition, health, and medical care have all contributed to this increase in longevity. This has led to a longer work life for many as well as to more time spent in education, retirement, and leisure. Early retirement programs are becoming numerous, and employees who have retired from one career may consider other part-time careers. Also, extended employment becomes more of a possibility for the older worker because of a rise in the mandatory retirement age.

The large-scale movement of women into the labor force is an important demographic change. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that in 1990 the overall labor force participation rate of women is expected to be about 51%. It has become more socially acceptable for wives and mothers to work outside the home, and the rising number of unmarried women in the population has made it economically necessary for many single, separated, divorced, and widowed women to establish their own careers.

Today's female labor force consists of a high proportion of college graduates. Because further education usually means a better chance of employment, the most significant gains have occurred among the highly educated.

Perhaps the most significant recent change in the labor force has involved working mothers. The labor force participation rate of women with children under age 6 has more than tripled in the past decade. Today, almost 50% of those women hold paid jobs. The sharply rising educational levels of women, the acceptance of dual-career couples, and the high incidence of women reentering the work force soon after having children suggest that the increase will continue.

There has also been a rapid rise of educational attainment in the United States as a result of the dramatic increase in the number of people completing high school and continuing their education. Almost two-thirds of the adults in the United States 17 and older are now high school graduates. Research suggests that the more education people have, the more education they want, and the more they participate in further learning activities (Cross, 1981).

Because of a number of social, economic, and technological changes, the United States is rapidly becoming a "lifelong learning society" where individuals continually need the benefits of education to keep marketable skills, further career change, or enhance self-fulfillment.

Developmental Changes

One of the major changes affecting adult career development is the recognition of adulthood as a period of continual change and potential development, as opposed to one of stability and certainty. Adults continually experience changes or transitions in different areas of their lives. These changes often cause them to reevaluate their values, goals, and choices and to move to greater growth and development. Changes that occur in adulthood have no absolute timing, although some events are linked to specific ages by social expectation. Different adults experience changes at different times in their lives, and some not at all. Although adult theorists disagree on how to explain transitions, most agree that adulthood is characterized by stability that is bridged by these transitions. It is the study of these adult transitions that has been the focus of much of the adult development literature and research in recent years.

Career is an important theme in adult development, particularly during adult transitions (Gottfredson, 1977; Schlossberg, 1984). Smelser and Erikson (1980) identified work as one of the two major themes of adulthood. A major portion of an adult's identity and feelings of self-worth is often expressed through work, which absorbs a great deal of the time and energy.

Along with the shift in the perception of adulthood as a period of continual change is a shift in the view of career development as a lifelong process. Traditionally, the field of guidance or vocational counseling focused on adolescence and was limited to testing and finding one vocation for a lifetime. Given all the changes mentioned earlier, it is no longer feasible for individuals to choose one career in adolescence and continue in that same career for their whole lives. Society and the economy are changing rapidly and forcing people to choose and rechoose many times during their lives and to seek additional training to remain job-marketable.

People are constantly changing, and as they change, so do their career patterns and commitments. Virtually every person's work history is characterized by some kind of change. The days of "one job for life" are fading fast, and there is greater recognition that career choices are required throughout one's life, not simply in adolescence. Job change rather than job continuity is becoming the norm.

Many adults are currently in transition, moving from one career to another. A College Board survey found that of the 40 million Americans in career transition, 60% will seek additional education and many have expressed a need for a variety of career services (Arbeiter, Aslanian, Schmerbeck, & Brickell, 1978). Aslanian and Brickell (1980) found that job or career change is the most common of all adult transitions and the most likely to motivate people to seek new learning opportunities. When adult learners were asked what motivated their learning activities, 83% mentioned some change in their life, and for 56% of them the change was related to a job or career.

Given the social, demographic, economic, and technological changes mentioned earlier, lifelong learning has also become necessary, desirable, and acceptable for many adults. Change is now so great that no amount of education during youth can adequately prepare adults to meet the changing demands of society. More and more adults are recognizing the need to continue their education and to retrain in order to remain marketable in a society that has undergone tremendous change (Bolles, 1979).

CHANGES CREATE NEW NEEDS

Some of the needs all of these changes have pinpointed for individuals, organizations, and the career development professional are the following:

Individuals

- need to become aware of adult development issues and how these issues affect their lives;
- need to realize that change is the norm in adulthood and learn to become more comfortable with change;
- need to be willing and prepared to continually reassess and reevaluate their goals, values, intersts, and career decisions;
- need to continually assess their skills and be willing to retrain to stay job-marketable;
- need to develop career decision-making skills;
- need to become more proactive in managing their careers;
- need to stay abreast of changes in the economy and society and know how these changes affect the job market and their career goals;
- need to balance family and work concerns at different stages in their lives;
- need to prepare for the possibility of midcareer changes, second careers, and what may be long retirement years; and
- need to take responsibility for their careers.

Organizations

- need to understand adult development issues;
- need to be aware of and respond to changing employee work values;
- need to improve job-employee match;
- need to provide alternatives and opportunities for midcareer, dual-career, plateaued, and older employees;
- need to be prepared to help women enter and reenter the work force throughout their lives;
- need to improve human resource planning and development activities;
- need to keep employee turnover at a minimum by creating opportunities within the company;
- Need to develop programs to increase productivity and quality of work life, such as job sharing, flexible benefits, flexible work schedules, part-time jobs, flexible retirement plans, quality control circles, shared decision making, flexible career structures, and day-care programs;
- need to prepare career planning programs with multiple options for employees; and

- need to tie career development activities into the goals of the corporation.

Career Development Professional

- need to be aware of adult development issues;
- need to view career development as a lifelong process;
- need to stay aware of the changes taking place in the economy, society, and job market;
- need to help clients interpret these changes so they can take charge of their careers;
- need to help clients continually reassess their goals, values, interests, and career decisions;
- need to teach clients career decision-making skills;
- need to help clients cope with change;
- need to consider how activities related to self, career, and family interact throughout the entire life span;
- need to help clients prepare for retirement years, the possibility of second careers, and a longer work life;
- need to be aware of and educate clients about stereotypes and biases in sex, race, age, and culture;
- need to design and implement human resource planning systems and provide career support to employees;
- need to teach clients skills to manage their careers;
- need to be aware of and provide assistance with all the complexities of the dual-career and child care issues;
- need to help men and women prepare for multiple roles throughout their lives; and
- need to develop evaluation of their services and programs for accountability purposes.

These changes have also created new clients in different settings as well as new activities, which has led to the need for a new career development professional with new skills. All of these changes have brought many new clients including older workers, disabled workers, divorced clients, reentry women, midcareer employees, dissatisfied workers, plateaued employees, special interest groups, preretirement individuals, and dual-career couples. In addition, organizations have become new clients of career development services.

As the clients change, the kinds of activities appropriate to their concerns and needs change, and the settings where these activities take place have expanded from the traditional settings, such as schools, to include new settings, such as business and industry (See Figure 2).

As the presenting problems of clients change, the kinds of activities that are appropriate to a career counseling intervention must also change. Clients may need to be taught *how* to cope with change, *how* to find information, *how* to conduct a job search campaign, *how* to make career decisions, rather than to be offered answers to career questions. Career counselors of adults must develop and expand on the model of adulthood as a process of lifelong change. With this model counselors can help their clients to be more proactive in their work life. In this way, career counselors will become participants and change agents in the dynamic process of career development in the coming decades.

A NEW CAREER DEVELOPMENT GRADUATE PROGRAM

In the spring of 1980, a group of career counselors, educators, and academic administrators began to develop a new graduate program. A master's program in career development would be needed to respond to the many economic, cultural, demographic, and technological changes in contemporary society. Such a program would develop professionals who could take a proactive role in assisting clients to cope with these changes.

In response to the pervasiveness of change in everyday life, the program would prepare graduates for a wide range of clients in many different situations. In response to contemporary models of adult development, the program would provide graduates with a thorough grounding in the theories and practices useful to assisting adults in transition. In order to respond to the need for new career development activities in new settings, the program would draw on the disciplines of management, psychology, and career development. Graduates of this program would be prepared to assist clients, both individuals and organizations, to understand adult and career development, and to facilitate their acquisition of the skills and the knowledge required to respond to, and to cope with, change.

The need for a new counselor equipped with new skills and a thorough preparation in adult and career development generated a new model for the education of career counselors. Programs preparing counselors to work in the career counseling area have traditionally been housed in counseling, or the educational psychology curriculum, where the main emphasis has been on preparing skilled counselors first, and skilled career specialists second. Although these programs have been successfully preparing counselors for many years, the demands of their curriculum and unit requirements generally precluded students from taking more than two or three classes in the career counseling area.

In order to build a curriculum that included many of the strengths of the graduate programs in counseling while adding a concentration on career and adult issues, the planning group devised a flexible and ingenious curriculum. The program was developed at John F. Kennedy University in Orinda, a San Francisco Bay Area community. Kennedy with its evening and weekend classes is a fortunate choice for such a program. As a school for adults in midcareer, the upper division and graduate schools provided encouragement, assistance, and an ideal format for the birth of a career development program. The ideals and goals of the program matched those of the school. In addition, the initiation of the graduate program in career development facilitated the formation and staffing of a long-awaited career development center for the Kennedy student body.

In creating this program the planning group established the following goals for its curriculum:

- to prepare counselors with counseling skills and a thorough knowledge of the theories of adult development;
- to expose students to a full range of information about the world of work;
- to prepare students to be experts in the skills and knowledge of career development; and
- to prepare students to work in different settings (including schools, agencies, private practice, and business and industry).

To achieve these goals, John F. Kennedy University established a Master's and a Certificate Program in Career Development. The certificate program would enable counselors and other professionals with a master's degree in a related area to acquire specific career development skills. At its core, both the master's and certificate programs have classes in career development, and include classes from the School of Psychology and the School of Management. In addition, approximately one-third of the graduate program is required fieldwork. Subsequent to the initial start of the program, the National Vocational Guidance Association (now the National Career Development Association) generated a list of competencies for the vocational/career professional. These competencies provide a useful model for discussion of the areas of interest covered in the Kennedy graduate program. The six areas are: General Counseling, Information, Individual/Group Assessment, Management/Administration, Implementation, and Consultation. Each of these areas is addressed in the graduate program.

1. General Counseling
   The Career Counseling Interview
   Career Counseling for Special Populations
   Group Process
   Psychology of Adulthood
   Personality and Psychotherapy
2. information
   Philosophy of Work: Meaning and Mission
   (In this class, designed specifically for this program, students explore and develop an in-depth understanding of the historical and philosophical perspectives on the cultural meanings of work.)
   Theories of Career Development
   World of Work
   (In addition to an analysis of the major sectors of the economy, students study the sectors of the local business economy, analyze their relative strengths and weaknesses, and perform case analyses of individual businesses.)
   Principles of Macroeconomics
3. Individual/Group Assessment
   Assessment Approaches in Career Development
   Practicum in Assessment
4. Management/Administration
   New Perspectives on Organizational Careers
   (Here students review the major theories of careers in organizations and prepare models of career development programs in organizations.)

   Human Resource Management
   Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Workshops

5. Implementation
   Career Development Techniques and Practices
      (A three-unit requirement that students fulfill by taking workshops on such topics as computerized career guidance, resume writing, managing career centers, the 16PF, and the dual-career couple.)
   Internships:
      Internal (Career Center) Internships
      (Students staff the Kennedy Career Center. Here, under careful supervision, they conduct individual counseling sessions and workshops for students and the general community. Students participate in case seminars, individual supervision, and video feedback on their performance in the center.)
      External Fieldwork
      (In a wide range of settings, including many of the major corporations in the Bay Area, such as Lockheed, Bank of America, and Pacific Bell, students perform a variety of functions including developing career manuals, coordinating and conducting seminars, designing and delivering preretirement and career planning workshops, and running career centers.)
6. Consultation
   Organization and Management Theory
   Systems of Organization and Management
   Organization Development for Managers

Additional programming is provided during the Career Development Summer Institute held annually (4 days) in early August. During the institute, for which students receive academic credit, nationally-known career development practitioners and authors provide intensive programming in their specialities. Institute speakers have included Robert Waterman, coauthor of *In Search of Excellence*; Howard Figler, author of numerous books on career counseling; Beverly Kaye, consultant and author of *Up Is Not the Only Way*; and Zandy Leibowitz, consultant and author of numerous articles on adult development. In this format students of career development can learn from professionals, while meeting many other professionals who attend the institute from all over the United States and Canada. Begining in the summer of 1985, the institute will be the nucleus of an external career development master's degree program.

Effective career counselors need the skills and knowledge to provide service for many different groups of people in many different settings. The basic skills that form the nucleus of the program's curriculum include basic listening and interviewing skills, assessment, gathering and giving information, and guiding clients in career decision making, developing, conducting, and evaluating career-related activities such as workshops and training programs. In addition, career development professionals may also need the skills to work in organizations that include counseling as well as consultation, program development, management, and administration skills. Career development professionals need a knowledge of the theories of adult development and the theories of organizational change and development. They need to be familiar with a variety of specific programs required by their expanding clientele; these programs include: preretirement planning, dual-career issues, succession planning, new careers in organizations, career pathing, human resource management, and training design and implementation.

The content and structure of the career development graduate program is designed to give students the skills to cope with career concerns of adult clients and the opportunity to try out and test those new skills. Against the reality of client and organizational concerns, the curriculum of the program has shown its strengths and resilience. As career development activities increase, training programs preparing professionals to design, conduct, and evaluate these activities will also increase. The quality of these training programs has much to contribute to the future of the career development profession.

With all the aforementioned cultural, demographic, technological, and economic changes, as well as the change in accepting adulthood and career development as lifelong processes of change and development, the need to prepare individuals and organizations for the present and future changes is greater than ever. Consequently, the field of career development is expanding and the role of the career development professional is changing dramatically. Helping clients manage career and life transitions and encouraging continual career renewal are new challenges for the career development professional.

Career development has emerged as a way for organizations and individuals to look at these issues in a way that is mutually beneficial. Technological change and job obsolescence are forcing both individuals and organizations to recognize the need for career planning and the development of multiple skills and careers. Organizations are beginning to realize that career development programming may be a way to help increase productivity, reduce turnover, and meet workers' changing values. Individuals may need career planning assistance to learn more about themselves, about opportunities and changes in society and the labor market, and about skills in career decision making.

A high percentage of the work force will continue to experience career-related crises and transitions and, because change seems to be a certainty in adulthood and career development, it is important for individuals to learn to cope wtih changes and transitions in their lives. This has created a need for a new career development professional who can help adults become more comfortable with the inevitability of change and can teach adults career decision-making skills to cope with these changes and become managers of their own careers.

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CHAPTER 20

Training Professionals for Career Development Responsibilities in Business and Industry

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Why train individuals in adult career development? Can counseling skills be readily transferred and applied in a business setting? What do worker values and expectations have to do with the "bottom line" of a profit and loss statement? These questions and others have been addressed in the recent career development literature (Bolyard, 1981; Fisher & Gerstein, 1983; Leibowitz & Schlossberg, 1981; Smith, Piercy, & Lutz, 1982; Souerwine, 1981; and Walz, 1982).

Differing views about the efficacy of organizational career development programs have emerged. It is clear that such programs are not cure-alls for personnel woes. Yet, when well designed and implemented, they can be significant contributors to high employee morale and more effective utilization of employee skills.

Although the experience base for career development programs is not broad, a recent study by Gutteridge and Otte (1983) reviewed the career development practices of 40 major organizations throughout the country. The industrial classifications included: manufacturing, communication, wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and retail trade, service industries, and government. Thus, it seems that a lot of organizational career development is occurring in the world of work. This is a result of both individual and institutional efforts. Efforts by the individual include planning for, entering, and becoming successful in a career. Efforts by institutions include career management systems (recruitment and selection), human resource allocation, appraisal and evaluation, and training and development activities. The institution supports and enhances the individual efforts with the expectation that both the individual and the organization will profit.

Walz (1982) identified a series of characteristics of optimum career development systems in organizations. Central to an optimum system is the leadership of an in-house specialist(s) knowledgeable about and skilled in career development. Extensive data have not been collected about the educational background of training and development specialists responsible for organizational career management programs. Yet, it is assumed that most have come from a college background of personnel administration, business administration, or liberal arts.

Training professionals to deliver adult career development services should involve emphasis in human resource management, training and development, and counseling. The major professional organization for career development, the National Career Development Association (formerly the National Vocational Guidance Association), has recently addressed the competencies needed for training career guidance personnel (Phillips-Jones, Jones, & Drier, 1981). The American Society for Training and Development has also addressed this in its recent training and development competencies study (McLagan, 1983). Guidance training programs at universities around the country are focusing upon the preparation of career development specialists for human resource positions in business, industry, and government. Also, more employers are establishing career planning units and counseling and employee assistance arms to improve human resource areas. The balance of this chapter will focus on the theoretical and conceptual foundations for adult career development (ACD) education, issues related to devloping education and training programs in ACD, and elements of graduate degree programs in ACD.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS FOR ADULT CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Historically, in the career development literature, the emphasis has been on initial vocational choice (high school years) and implementation of this choice through training or postsecondary education. The concept treats career choice as an event that happens at a point in time, is permanent and irreversible, and has a lifelong effect. Thus, for almost 50 years from the establishment of Breadwinners' College in Boston in 1905 until the launching of the Career Pattern Study at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1951 (Borow, 1964), career counselors worked almost exclusively with adolescents in a career choice model known as trait-factor. This system assumes that a straightforward matching of an individual's abilities and interests with the world's vocational opportunities can be accomplished and solves that individual's problems of vocational choice (Osipow, 1983).

The model changed slowly over the years. The vocational testing movement grew from the trait-factor point of view. Such commonly used measures in career counseling as the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory and the General Aptitude Test Battery are based on the trait-factor stream of thought.

The developmental or self-concept model has grown out of the work of Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma (1951) and Super (1957) on the developmental side, and Rogers (1951) on the self-concept side. These theoreticians developed an approach leading to the concept of *adult* career development. Their central ideas are:

1. Individuals develop more clearly defined self-concepts as they grow older. These vary to conform with the changes of one's view of reality as correlated with aging.
2. People develop images of the occupational world that they compare with their self-image in trying to make career decisions.
3. The adequacy of the eventual career decision is based on the similarity between an individual's self-concept and the vocational concept of the career chosen.

Adult career development means helping people grow and change. One of the primary and most common vehicles for helping people grow and change is learning. In fact, career counselng itself is an *educative* function that teaches processes such as career decision making, self-representation, and job hunting (Forney, 1981).

In one-to-one counseling, knowledge of adult development is important. Yet adult career development programs include more than just career counseling activities. Such elements as career planning workshops, stress management workshops, life planning workshops, preretirement workshops, supervisory and management training in career counseling, and other individual and group developmental activities are included in many programs (Gutteridge & Otte, 1983). These activities require competence in two major areas in which most career counselors lack education or training: (a) knowledge of adult learning theory, and (b) skill in the design of adult learning (training) programs.

Adult Learning Theory

Adults differ from children and adolescents in four major respects:

1. Adults' self-concept is one of being a self-directed human being rather than dependent on others.
2. Adults accumulate a reservoir of experience that becomes an increasingly rich resource for learning.
3. Adults' readiness to learn becomes oriented increasingly to the developmental tasks of their social roles.
4. Adults' time perspective changes from one of postponed application of knowledge to immediacy of application. Accordingly, their orientation toward learning shifts from one of subject-centeredness to one of performance-centeredness (Knowles, 1980).

The adult career developer needs to be aware of the theory of how adults learn (androgogy) and also how this theory is put into practice.

Design of Training (Adult Learning) Programs

Adult learning (androgogy) involves designing training programs that build in the implications of adult learning theory. There are numerous models for designing training in the literature. One general model is depicted in Figure 1. In designing any training program, the adult career developer must be aware of the organization's, institution's, or community's need for such a program. If the need relates to a specific job or task, performance standards may have to be developed. The needs of the individual learners who make up the potential audience for the program must be identified. Then learning objectives can be established, the curriculum developed, the instruction planned, and the training conducted.

Throughout this entire process, the implications for helping adults learn must be integrated into the curriculum to create a meaningful learning experience (Ingalls, 1973). For example it is important to:

1. set a climate for learning and develop a positive learning environment;
2. establish a structure for mutual planning and collaborate on learning objectives;
3. design the learning and provide ways for participants to be involved in the learning; and
4. evaluate the learning and identify methods for participants to evaluate their own learning.

This is only a brief view of adult learning theory and practice. Much more goes into the art of helping adults learn. What is important to realize is that designing and conducting an effective workshop takes more than desire. It also takes competence in the areas mentioned.

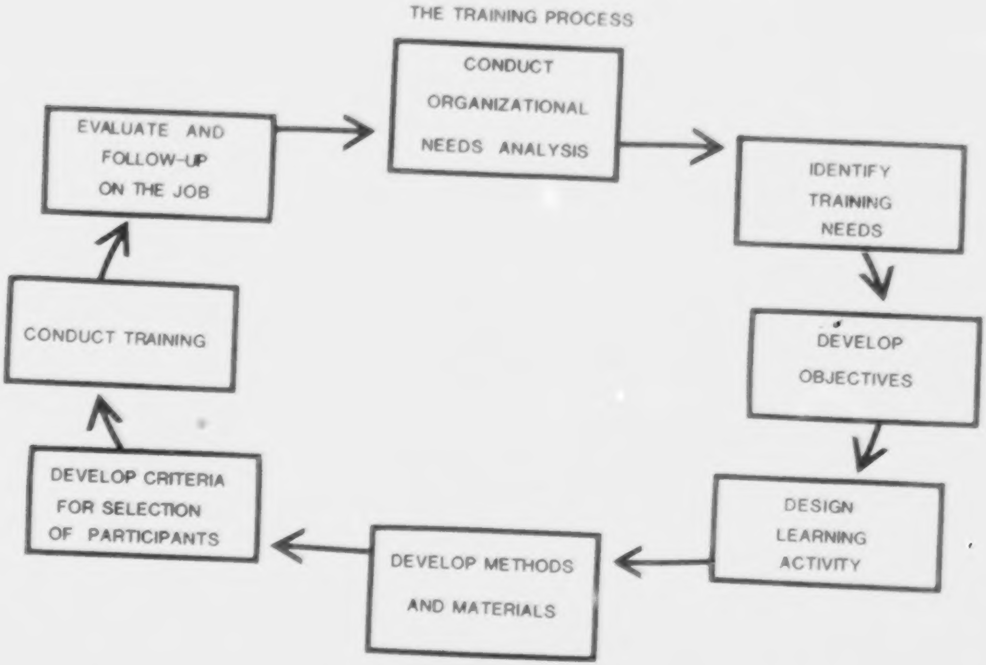
ISSUES RELATED TO DEVELOPING EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS IN ACD

The prerequisite roles and competencies of adult career development specialists have been recently addressed in two major professional society publications: *Developing Training Competencies for Career Guidance Personnel*, published by NVGA (Phillips-Jones, Jones, & Drier, 1981) and *Training and Development Competencies*, published by ASTD (McLagan, 1983). The former document focuses on the competencies needed by career counselors working with any age level and provides many models (competency domains) for developing training programs. One model, developed by the Illinois Guidance and Personnel Association's (IGPA) Professional Development Program is presented in Figure 2.

This domain resulted from work by a task force of counselor educators and guidance practitioners from 17 institutions. The IGPA planning group brainstormed skills generic across human service areas. These skills were compared with those mentioned in the literature and then converted into competency statements. The nine competency areas that compose IGPA's domain are:

Figure 1

A General Model for Designing Training


THE TRAINING PROCESS
CONDUCT ORGANIZATIONAL NEEDS ANALYSIS
IDENTIFY TRAINING NEEDS
DEVELOP OBJECTIVES
DESIGN LEARNING ACTIVITY
DEVELOP METHODS AND MATERIALS
DEVELOP CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS
CONDUCT TRAINING
EVALUATE AND FOLLOW-UP ON THE JOB

1. counselor as person;
2. counseling services;
3. career development;
4. human environmental assessment;
5. consultation;
6. coordination;
7. research and evaluation;
8. referral; and
9. change agentry.

This group also added three levels of mastery: (a) beginning counselor, (b) professional counselor, and (c) consultant/supervisor/instructor. The competency statements in Figure 2 are called Goal Statements and Objectives.

The ASTD document identifies 31 competencies (see Table 1) important for excellent performance in the training and development field. Each competency is defined, and behaviors illustrate the levels of expertise. As with the NVGA competency model, three levels of expertise are identified: basic, intermediate, and advanced. An example of a competency and the illustrative behaviors follows:

> 7. Counseling Skill (competency) . . . Helping individuals recognize and understand needs, values, problems, alternatives, and goals.
> *BASIC:* The training and development specialist uses a career planning kit to help an individual seeking career assistance. *She empathizes with the employee's quandry.* Then, based on the data from interest questionnaires, *helps the employee explore* a variety of suitable new career directions.
> *INTERMEDIATE:* A participant in a leadership program is befuddled by survey feedback from people who assessed his leadership style before the program. The program facilitator notices him puzzling over his data and asks if she can help. She *listens to and acknowledges his concerns then helps him interpret* the results and decide on a course of action.
> *ADVANCED:* The training and development specialist has been asked to help an angry, shocked 50-year-old ex-executive who has just been fired. The specialist *gives him time to vent his feelings and concerns.* Then she *helps channel his energy* into self-assessment, opportunity search (McLagan, 1983).

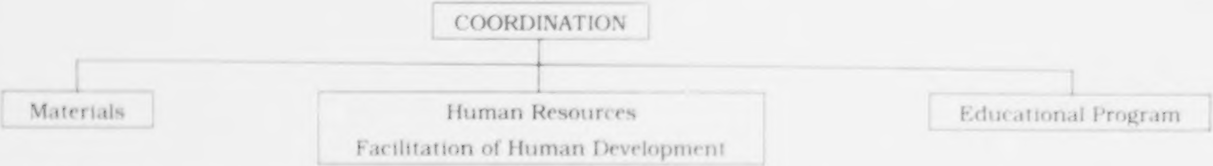
In the past, the most common settings for career development programs have been schools, academic institutions, and community agencies. Recently, the work place has emerged as an appropriate setting for the delivery of these services (Leibowitz & Schlossberg, 1981).

HRD as Career Development Base

Within the work place, the human resource development (HRD) function has emerged as the base for career development. The roles and functions within HRD have undergone major changes in recent years. At one time job skill training was the major purpose of HRD in many companies.

Figure 2

From Developing Training Competencies for Career Guidance Personnel (p. 34–35) ***by L. Phillips-Jones, G.B. Jones, and H.N. Drier, 1981, Falls Church, VA: National Vocational Guidance Association. Copyright 1981 by National Vocational Guidance Association. Reprinted by permission.***



Goal Statement: The counselor must be able to coordinate the various aspects of the total counseling program resulting in a continuous and meaningful sequence of services to individuals, staff, and community.

Objectives	*Implementation and Evaluation*		
The professional counselor must:	The professional counselor provides evidence of competence by:		
	Level 1	**Level 2**	**Level 3**
1. Be able to assess and respond to client needs.	Initiating an assessment of client needs.	Making recommendations based on an assessment of client needs. Implementing the above recommendations.	Demonstrating the ability to teach client needs assessment techniques.
2. Be able to analyze and respond to existing program needs.	Completing an analysis of existing programs.	Making recommendations based upon an assessment of program needs. Implementing the above recommendations.	Demonstrating ability to teach program development techniques.

3. **Be able to assess** available and potential resources.	**Completing an assessment of** available and potential resources.	**Making recommendations** based upon an assessment of available and potential resources. Implementing the above recommendations.	**Demonstrating the ability to** teach resource assessment and development.
4. Be able to define, detail, and communicate a recommended program by: a) writing specific program objectives; b) specifying activities that would facilitate reaching objectives.	Generating written program goals by: a) involving community institutions in identifying goals, objectives, and activities. b) writing specific objectives. c) initiating activities which meet program goals and objectives.	Demonstrating an understanding of existing institutional and community communication systems. Demonstrating the ability to coordinate local programs with systems beyond the local level. Demonstrating the ability to communicate program goals and objectives.	Conducting and reporting ongoing research activities. Demonstrating the ability to teach the writing of specific program goals.
5. Be able to attain program goals through cooperative or independent efforts.	Differentiating similarities and differences between programs. Initiating and/or maintaining cooperative relationships with existing community agencies. Selecting resources which will assist in attaining program goals.	Evaluating program goals with emphasis on recognition of similarities and differences between programs. Generating the means by which additional agencies and programs may support and enhance each other.	Suggesting means by which established cooperative ventures may be maintained. Generating means utilization of community resources in attaining program goals.
6. To establish a public relations program that explains human services to the community.	Identifying specific human services (who, what, where, when, how). Transmitting the who, what, where, when, and how of the community human services program.	Designing and producing materials that adequately inform the community of available human services.	Analyzing alternative means for disseminating human services information to various populations. Demonstrating the ability to teach techniques of information dissemination.

Table 1

Knowledge/Skill Areas Identified as Important for Excellent Performance in the Training and Development Field

1. *Adult Learning Understanding* . . . Knowing how adults acquire and use knowledge, skills, attitudes. Understanding individual differences in learning.
2. *A/V Skill* . . . Selecting and using audio/visual hardware and software.
3. *Career Development Knowledge* . . . Understanding the personal and organizational issues and practices relevant to individual careers.
4. *Competency Identification Skill* . . . Identifying the knowledge and skill requirements of jobs, tasks, roles.
5. *Computer Competence* . . . Understanding and being able to use computers.
6. *Cost-Benefit Analysis Skill* . . . Assessing alternatives in terms of their financial, psychological, and strategic advantages and disadvantages.
7. *Counseling Skill* . . . Helping individuals recognize and understand personal needs, values, problems, alternatives and goals.
8. *Data Reduction Skill* . . . Scanning, synthesizing, and drawing conclusions from data.
9. *Delegation Skill* . . . Assigning task responsibility and authority to others.
10. *Facilities Skill* . . . Planning and coordinating logistics in an efficient and cost-effective manner.
11. *Feedback Skill* . . . Communicating opinions, observations and conclusions such that they are understood.
12. *Futuring Skill* . . . Projecting trends and visualizing possible and probable futures and their implications.
13. *Group Process Skill* . . . Influencing groups to both accomplish tasks and fulfill the needs of their members.
14. *Industry Understanding* . . . Knowing the key concepts and variables that define an industry or sector (e.g., critical issues, economic vulnerabilities, measurements, distribution channels, inputs, outputs, information sources).
15. *Intellectual Versatility* . . . Recognizing, exploring and using a broad range of ideas and practices. Thinking logically and creatively without undue influence from personal biases.
16. *Library Skills* . . . Gathering information from printed and other recorded sources. Identifying and using information specialists and reference services and aids.
17. *Model Building Skill* . . . Developing theoretical and practical frameworks which describe complex ideas in understandable, usable ways.
18. *Negotiation Skill* . . . Securing win-win agreements while successfully representing a special interest in a decision situation.

19. *Objectives Preparation Skill* . . . Preparing clear statements which describe desired outputs.
20. *Organization Behavior Understanding* . . . Seeing organizations as dynamic, political, economic, and social systems which have multiple goals; using this larger perspective as a framework for understanding and influencing events and change.
21. *Organization Understanding* . . . Knowing the strategy, structure, power networks, financial position, systems of a SPECIFIC organization.
22. *Performance Observation Skills* . . . Tracking and describing behaviors and their effect.
23. *Personnel/HR Field Understanding* . . . Understanding issues and practices in other HR areas (Organization Development, Organization Job Design, Human Resource Planning, Selection and Staffing, Personnel Research and Information Systems, Compensation and Benefits, Employee Assistance, Union/Labor Relations).
24. *Presentation Skills* . . . Verbally presenting information such that the intended purpose is achieved.
25. *Questioning Skill* . . . Gathering information from and stimulating insight in individuals and groups through the use of interviews, questionnaires and other probing methods.
26. *Records Management Skill* . . . Storing data in easily retrievable form.
27. *Relationship Versatility* . . . Adjusting behavior in order to establish relationships across a broad range of people and groups.
28. *Research Skills* . . . Selecting, developing and using methodologies, statistical and data collection techniques for a formal inquiry.
29. *Training and Development Field Understanding* . . . Knowing the technological, social, economic, professional, and regulatory issues in the field; understanding the role T&D plays in helping individuals learn for current and future jobs.
30. *Training and Development Techniques Understanding* . . . Knowing the techniques and methods used in training; understanding their appropriate uses.
31. *Writing Skills* . . . Preparing written material which follows generally accepted rules of style and form, is appropriate for the audience, creative, and accomplishes its intended purposes.

Note. From *Training and Development Competencies* (p.36) by P.A. McLagan, 1983, Washington, DC: American Society for Training and Development. Copyright 1983 by ASTD. Reprinted by permission.

Later, the emphasis on management and executive programs added another dimension. Recently the emphasis on matching individual interests and goals with the skills needed and directions anticipated by organizations has created another role for HRD. This rapidly evolving role of liaison between the individual (who needs training and development to achieve personal goals) and the organization (which needs skilled, capable, and prepared employees to accomplish organizational goals) is an increasingly relevant focus of HRD (Gutteridge & Hutcheson, 1984).

With a career development-related HRD system, decision making about training and development for each employee is shared. The individual has the opportunity to express desired moves and goals. These may be expressed in terms of skills, knowledge, abilities, and desired target positions. The organization has the opportunity to react to those growth-related goals, provide feedback on their operational reality, and assist in identifying learning strategies to reach those goals supported by the organization. The individual's interests, goals, and desired growth strategies are usually formulated in a developmental plan. This developmental plan is an essential part of the information used in planning other HRD developmental activities.

This information sharing offers HRD the opportunity to be responsive to existing and future needs. Program offerings can be planned that are consistent with the perceived needs of employees and their supervisors. Training for the present job and education for a future job are seen as highly beneficial by both participants and supervisors because attendance is designed around both individual and organizational goals.

Because the developmental plan is outcome-based (focuses on the skill, knowledge, ability, or experience desired), it provides a microview of the individuals within an organization. Collectively, the developmental plans represent a macroview of the training and development needs within the organization.

In addition to developmental planning, other organizational career development techniques include:

- career planning seminars or workshops;
- career counseling by staff counselors;
- job posting;
- career workbooks;
- skills inventory;
- career pathing;
- succession planning;
- career discussions by supervisors with employees;
- career resource center, and
- outplacement counseling (Gutteridge & Otte, 1983).

Ideally, career development would be part of or allied with human resource development. Both would be essential elements of a comprehensive human resource management system.

Traditional graduate counseling programs have generally ignored the significance of organizational career development, the human resource perspective, and organizational theory. An understanding of HRD, internal (and external) consultation, group facilitation, organization and management theory, human resource planning, organization development, and human resource management are vital to adult career developers in organizations. "Organizations are able to grow, change, and adapt to an extent that is at least partially dependent on the ability of its human resources to grow, change, and adapt. Career development is a major means of preparing individual employees for this process." (Gutteridge & Hutcheson, 1984, pp. 30.24.)

Elements of a Graduate Degree Program in ACD

To this point the need to train individuals in ACD has been identified and discussed, the theoretical and conceptual foundations for ACD education have been reviewed, roles and competencies for this new profession have been identified, and career development programs within the HRD function in an organization have been discussed. Now the elements of a graduate degree program in ACD will be considered. This is being offered in an increasing number of universities, particularly in colleges of education. (American Society for Training and Development, 1981)

The following courses, seminars, or clinical experiences are common to most programs at the master's degree level:

Career Development Theory: This course reviews basic principles of human growth and development through the life span. The special emphasis is on career development and career development theory. Also considered are the social, economic, political, family, and educational influences on an individual.

Counseling Techniques: The emphasis in this course is on basic counseling techniques for working with adults in the work setting. Extensive practice of counseling skills through role-playing, behavior rehearsal, and audio- and videotaping is included.

Measurement and Assessment: This course emphasizes various group tests and nontest approaches (i.e., inventories and surveys) to help the counselor understand the adult in the work place. Some emphasis is also placed on individual measurement.

Adult Learning and Development: The knowledge of adult human development is generally a core element of a graduate program in adult counseling. But an emphasis on adult learning and its relation to human development is important both to career counseling and to designing career workshops for adults. Not only is career counseling a learning process but pursuing career change involves learning new knowledge, competencies, and values.

Training Program Design: As discussed earlier, designing training (adult learning) programs and integrating adult learning theory are important to the adult career developer planning to design and conduct career-oriented workshops, seminars, and computer-assisted instruction.

Consultation: Many career developers are consulting with institutions of higher learning, community agencies, businesses, and government. They assist in planning and implementing career development programs. In addition, career developers in organizations consult internally with management to help it understand how career development enhances organizational effectiveness.

Group Facilitation: Much of the counseling and learning in career development is performed in group settings. Knowledge of group dynamics and skill in group facilitation is essential for both group counseling and conducting a workshop.

Organization Theory: A support field or cognate in a mixture of organization behavior, human resource management, organization design, human resource planning, organization development, and human resource development that will provide the "world of work" perspective for those interested in organization-based career development.

Internship/Practicum: Students should have a chance to work in the field to see adult career development in practice within an organizational setting.

Throughout the graduate program, emphasis should be given to such activities as guest speakers, field trips, and informational interviews. This will expose students to the real world of adult career development. In addition, the faculty advisor's role should be one of educational and career counselor to fully prepare the students for their career choice in this field.

CONCLUSION

Counselor education programs and human resource development programs are well equipped to train professionals for human resource positions in business and industry. To be successful, a close working relationship needs to be established between the departments or colleges that offer the coursework and the practitioners in business and industry where internship and practicum experience are offered. Only then will the graduates of these programs be well-rounded professionals who will contribute uniquely to human resource development in organizational settings.

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SECTION VI:

EVALUATION

ESTABLISHING OUR EFFECTIVENESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY . . .

CHAPTER 21

Evaluation: Measuring Effectiveness of Adult Career Development Practice

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Recently one of the authors of this chapter completed a monograph called *Providing Adult Career Guidance and Counseling: Ideas for Application and Action* (Bhaerman, 1984). Although the monograph was comprehensive, the issue of evaluation was not included, for there seemed to be little information available on this topic. Following a thorough literature search of the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) data base and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, a number of relevant materials were uncovered. There was certainly a sufficient amount of information to make several observations and to draw some pertinent conclusions. This has been done in the latter part of this chapter.

First, it is important to raise several introductory questions and to offer several initial observations. It is difficult to make many sweeping generalizations about evaluating adult career development practices. Many factors and dimensions must be considered, and an extremely large number of evaluation models and approaches are available.

GENERAL QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

Let us take a brief look at four general questions before turning to the specifics of adult career development. The first two that come to mind are: (a) What *theory(ies)* is the basis for career development program activities? (b) Which *strategies and interventions* are the focus? Once the operational dimensions are clear, the "tough questions" arise: (c) Which of the many models should be the base-factor evaluation? (d) Which of the many *specific types of evaluation* should be the focus?

CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

A variety of theories dealing with diverse aspects of career development have been formulated. Various career development experts (i.e., Giroux, 1983; Peavy, 1981; Schlossberg, 1981, & Tolbert, 1980) have attempted to synthesize the theories. Two works will be discussed briefly: Giroux's overview and Peavy's analysis of several major theories and their implications for adult career counselors.

Giroux's Overview

As indicated, Giroux reviewed a number of career development theories. For example, the *trait and factor* theory is based on the premise that individuals have unique traits that can be measured objectively and be related to the requirements of various jobs. *Ginzberg's developmental theory* probes the stages in the occupational choice process, whereas *Roe's needs theory* deals with career choices and fulfilling personal needs. *Super's developmental theory* posits various stages such as growth, exploratory, establishment, maintenance, and decline. *Holland's personality theory* describes career choice as an extension of one's personality to a work setting and one's identification with occupational stereotypes. *Tiedeman's cognitive developmental theory* also notes stages: anticipation—exploration, crystallization, choice, and clarification, *and* implementation—induction, reformation, and integration. *Gelatt's decision-making theory* is based on the view that one has options from which to choose. *Psychoanalytical theories* often stress occupational choice and employment as a means of satisfying impulses and providing outlets for subliminal wishes. Lastly, *social factors theories* imply that one's social group and environment exert a significant influence.

Peavy's Summarization

Peavy, as noted, also summarized several major adult development theories and research findings. A brief overview follows.

Havighurst constructed a stage theory of development that includes a set of tasks that must be completed at each stage for the individual to experience life satisfaction. Here the counselor's job would be to assist clients in coping with those tasks appropriate to their time of life.

Erikson proposed an eight-stage life cycle. Each is characterized by a critical issue that is either resolved or not. A counselor guided by this theory would search for ways to help clients deal with the particular issues they face. For example, if a client were undergoing a crisis in starting and maintaining a productive career, the counselor would explore whether or not previous tasks had been accomplished. Intervention would be started initially at one level (learning to relate effectively) rather than at the "try-a-new-job" level.

Kohlberg focused on moral development and stages of moral judgment based on the understanding of the correct way to behave in society. Hence, a counselor would concentrate on the values, motives, and meanings that clients attribute to their own and others' behavior. Clients would be confronted with moral dilemmas and inconsistencies in their own beliefs and behaviors. This process might lead them to evaluate their own situation.

Loevinger's theory of development, organized around levels of "ego control," included such areas as interpersonal relations and moral judgments. For example, a client oriented to conforming might be confused by too many options, whereas a more autonomous person may demand various options. Recognizing how a client thinks and acts in a situation is very useful.

Levinson emphasized the concept of choice and suggested that counselors discover the meaning that a choice holds in a person's life at different times. For example, greater thought should be given to the meaning of work in the middle-adult years and how this meaning differs from the meaning of work in early adulthood.

Lastly, *Neugarten* argued that unexpected life events, rather than the predictable ones, move an individual into crisis behaviors. Two important research implications are: (a) clients should be helped to identify their sources of support in the face of predictable difficulties, and (b) people will demonstrate more drastic reactions to unexpected events of change. Hence, they may then need stronger guidance and emotional support than in the face of predictable events.

Our point in summarizing these theories is to show that there is no single uniform way of looking at adults. Each theory suggests different programs, practices, and services. Therefore, the context of evaluation programs will differ greatly. It is extremely important to identify and make explicit the theory(ies) under which one operates to provide the necessary road map to guide the evaluation process.

CAREER DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

An almost endless array of strategies and interventions exist. Here is a brief sampling of some of the strategies that could be used and evaluated either singly or jointly. Not all of the 40 items listed will be relevant. It will depend, of course, on the nature of the agency and the agency's clients.

- job search approaches;
- media—radio and TV—approaches;
- outplacement counseling approaches;
- a career resource bank/center;
- a job development program;
- an occupational retraining program;
- a referral system;
- a telephone counseling service;
- computer-assisted programs;
- correspondence courses;
- home study courses;
- job-finding training;
- family counseling;
- assertiveness training;
- support systems;
- consciousness-raising activities;

- employability skills training;
- follow-up services;
- information on education/training programs;
- information on job opportunities;
- information on credentials
- information on transferable skills;
- placement services;
- training in coping and adaptive skills;
- child care services;
- classes in communication/language facility;
- financial counseling services;
- formal instructional classes;
- outreach programs;
- peer support groups;
- remedial education programs;
- seminars and workshops;
- transportation services;
- peer counselor and volunteer training;
- professional staff training;
- peer counselors;
- self-help: self-instructional materials;
- volunteers;
- a comprehensive, formal guidance system; and
- testing or other means to gather client information.

EVALUATION MODELS

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of evaluation models prescribing what evaluators ought to do. According to Patton (1982), no definitive classification scheme exists that describes the various models. Nevertheless, he does identify eight separate models distinguishable by: (a) the audiences they address, (b) the outcomes they examine, (c) the typical questions they ask, and (d) the methods they employ. House's eight categories (Patton, p. 37) follow:

- *Systems analysis* quantitatively measures program inputs and outcomes for effectiveness and efficiency.
- *Behavioral objectives approach* focuses entirely on clear, specific, and measurable goals.
- *Goal-free evaluation* examines the extent that actual client needs are being met by the program.
- *Art criticism approach* makes the evaluator's own expertise (derived standards of excellence) a criterion against which programs are judged.
- *Accreditation model* uses a team of external accreditors to determine the extent to which a program meets professional standards for a given type of program.
- *Adversary approach* uses two teams to battle over the question of whether a program should be continued.
- *Transaction approach* concentrates on program processes.
- *Decision-making models* structure the evaluation by the decisions to be made.

An earlier and even more extensive analysis of evaluation models is reported by Worthen and Sanders (1973, pp. 209–217). They compared eight evaluation process theories: definitions, purposes, key emphasis, roles of the evaluator, types of evaluation, theoretical constructs, and implications for evaluation design. The theories compared have been developed by Marvin Alkin, Robert Hammond, Malcolm Provus, Michael Scriven, Robert Stake, Danile Stufflebeam, and Ralph Tyler. A brief description of the relevant characteristics of the models mentioned follows.

Alkin's model is based on ascertaining the decision areas of concern, selecting appropriate information, and collecting and analyzing that information. The major purpose is to report summary data to decision makers. The key emphasis is on evaluation reports used for decision making. The evaluator serves as a specialist providing evaluation information to decision makers. The implication for evaluation design is that the evaluation domain is determined by the decision maker, and the objects of the evaluation vary along a continuum from discrete, definable objects to complex systems.

Hammond's model is based on assessing the effectiveness of current and innovative programs at the local level by comparing behavioral data with the objectives. The purpose is to find out whether innovation is effective in achieving the expressed objectives. The key emphasis is on local program development. The evaluators serve as consultants who provide expertise in data collection and training of local evaluators or program personnel. Evaluation is the source on which to base decisions about institutional and behavioral dimensions. The implication for evaluation design is that the focus be on empirical research and on the interaction of the various dimensions.

Provus's model is based on comparing performance with standards. The purpose is to determine whether to improve, maintain, or terminate a program. The key emphasis is on identifying discrepancies between standards and performance by using a team approach. The evaluator serves as a team member who aids program improvement independently of the program unit. The evaluation staff collects information essential to program improvement and notes discrepancies between performance and standards. The implication for evaluation is that the design should provide continuous evaluation ("feedback loops"), relevant and timely information for making decisions and cost-benefit analysis.

Scriven's model is based on gathering and combining data with a weighted set of goal scales. The purpose is to establish and justify merit or worth. The key emphasis is on the justification of data gathering instruments, weighting, and selection of goals. The evaluator is responsible for judging the merit of a practice for producers (formative evaluation) and consumers (summative evaluation). The implication for evaluation design is that the model looks at goals and their worth, determines whether they are being met, is involved in value judgments, requires the use of scientific information, and evaluates from within (again, formative) and from without (again, summative).

Stake's model is based on describing and judging a program, usually an educational program. The purpose is to describe and judge such programs based on a formal inquiry process. The key emphasis is on collecting descriptive and judgmental data from various audiences. The evaluator serves as a specialist concerned with collecting, processing, and interpreting such data. These data normally result in generating reports that include recommendations to various audiences. Judgments may be based on either absolute or relative standards. The implication for evaluation is that the design is a very general structure, although it has been recommended that matrices be included in the design.

Stufflebeam's model is based on defining, obtaining, and using information for decision making. The purpose and key emphasis is to provide relevant information to decision makers and evaluation reports for decision making. The evaluator serves as a specialist who provides information to decision makers. Four specific approaches to evaluation are suggested: context evaluation for planning decisions, input evaluation for programming decisions, process evaluation for implementing decisions, and product evaluation for recycling decisions. The implication for evaluation design is that the model calls for the use of the systems approach for evaluation studies.

Tyler's model is based on comparing performance (usually student performance) with behaviorally stated objectives. Because the approach focuses on learning, the purpose is to determine the extent to which the purposes of a learning activity are acutally being realized. The key emphasis is on the specification of objectives and the measuring of learning outcomes. The evaluator serves as a specialist who evaluates as part of "curriculum development and assessment." The implication for evaluation design is that the model focuses on the need to interpret and use the results of assessment.

TYPES OF EVALUATION

The differing evaluation models reveal varying approaches to evaluation practice. Cutting across the various definitions and models are different *types of evaluation*. Whereas the models are basically prescriptive, indicating how to conduct evaluations, the various types of evaluations are more descriptive. Different types of evaluations ask different questions and focus on specific aspects of the evaluative function. For example, Raizen and Rossi (1981) reported on the work of a committee of the National Academy of Sciences that has delineated these types of evaluation: needs assessment, basic research, small-scale testing, field evaluation, policy analyses, fiscal accountability, coverage accountability, impact assessment, and economic analyses.

Within the context of the models just described, Worthen and Sanders (1973) also identified numerous types of evaluation. For example they cite: (a) Alkin's model (system assessment, program planning, program implementation, program improvement, and program certification); (b) Hammond's model (behavioral dimension used for describing programs); (c) Provus's model (design, installation, process, product, and cost); (d) Scriven's model (formative/summative, comparative/noncomparative); (e) Stake's model (formal versus informal); (f) Stufflebeam's model (context, input, process, and product); and (g) Tyler's model (pre- and postmeasurement of performance).

Patton (1982, p. 44) also cited several types of evaluation identified in 1980 by the Evaluation Research Society Standards Committee:

- *Front-end analysis* (preinstallation, feasibility analysis). This type takes place prior to installation of a program to provide guidance in planning and implementing the program as well as deciding if it should be implemented.
- *Evaluability assessment.* This type includes activities aimed at assessing the feasibility of various evaluation approaches and methods.
- *Formative evaluation* (developmental, process). This evaluation is aimed at providing information for program improvement, modification, and management.
- *Impact evaluation* (summative, outcome). This evaluation is aimed at determining program results and effects. It is used especially for making major decisions about program continuation, expansion, reduction, and funding.
- *Program monitoring.* The activities vary from periodic checks of compliance with policy to relatively straightforward "tracking" of services delivered and "counting" of clients.

Patton stressed that these types of evaluation are by no means mutually exclusive. Over a period of time a program might be involved in activities from each of the categories. He also pointed out that: (a) some activities occur simultaneously, (e.g., program monitoring, formative evaluation, and impact analysis); and (b) numerous types of specific evaluations exist within each category.

From Patton's (1982) extensive list (pp. 45–47), a few selected evaluation types that adult career development personnel might wish to explore are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Selected Evaluation Types

- *Accreditation* (Does the program meet minimum standards for accreditation or licensing?)
- *Appropriateness* (What services should clients be receiving? To what extent are current services appropriate to client needs?)
- *Awareness focus* (Who knows about the program? What do they know?)
- *Cost-benefit analysis* (What is the relationship between program costs and program outcomes expressed in dollars?)
- *Cost-effectiveness* (What is the relationship between program costs and outcomes where the latter are not measured in dollars?)
- *Descriptive* (What happens in the program?)
- *Effectiveness* (To what extent is the program effective in attaining its goals?)
- *Efficiency* (Can inputs be reduced and still obtain the same level of output or can greater output be obtained with no increase in inputs?)

- *Effort* (What are the inputs into the program in terms of number of personnel, staff/client ratios, and other descriptors of levels of activity and effort in the program?)
- *Extensiveness* (How does the present level of services compare to the needed level of services?)
- *Goal attainment scaling* (To what extent do individual clients attain individual goals on a standardized measurement scale?)
- *Goals-based* (To what extent have program goals been attained?)
- *Goal-free* (What are the actual effects of the program on clients—without regard to what staff say they want to accomplish?)
- *Impact* (What are the direct and indirect program effects on the larger community of which it is a part?)
- *Longitudinal* (What happens to the program and to participants over time?)
- *Outcomes* (To what extent are desired client outcomes being attained? What are the effects of the program on clients?)
- *Performance* (What are participants actually able to do as a result of participation in the program?)
- *Personnel* (How effective are staff in carrying out their assigned tasks and in accomplishing their individual goals?)
- *Process* (What are the strengths and weaknesses of day-to-day operations?)
- *Product* (What are the characteristics of specific and concrete products produced by or used in a program?)
- *Quality assurance* (Are minimum and accepted standards of care being routinely and systematically provided to clients?)
- *Systems analysis* (What are the available alternatives and, given those alternatives, what is the optimum way to do this program?)

Note. From M.Q. Patton, *Practical Evaluation*, pp. 45–47. Copyright © 1982 by Sage Publications, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

EVALUATION OF ADULT CAREER PROGRAMS

With these four background questions addressed, the *evaluation of the effectiveness of adult career development programs* will be examined. The examination will review evaluation studies, illustrate an evaluation design, describe program and client outcomes, and raise related issues.

Evaluation Studies

Evaluation studies of adult career programs are infrequent. Harrison and Entine (1976) reviewed a national survey of 367 adult career counseling programs. They found that only 20% provided evaluation data that measured specific changes in client behavior as a result of the program. An additional one-third of the programs reported that they collected anecdotal reports of client reactions and success.

Walz and Benjamin (1981) in their review of adult counseling programs also found serious deficits in assessing program effectiveness. In general, they observed that systematic efforts to collect evaluative data were rare. They did not find a single program that used criterion-referenced measures to assess client change in actual attitudes, skills, or knowledge. Walz and Benjamin did note, however, that program staff were convinced that they were successful in helping their clients. This was based on subjective feedback in the absence of hard data. Unfortunately, subjective impressions of effectiveness do not convince budget allocators.

Stump (1982) observed a similar deficit in the evaluation of adult career development programs. He cites a number of reasons as to why professionals avoid evaluating their programs. These include: lack of time and energy, insufficient budget, task difficulty, low response rates, political program decisions, data considered unimportant, disinterest, and inadequate knowledge to evaluate process.

In addition, Cairo (1983) reviewed 30 studies on vocational counseling in industry. He also reported limited information on counseling effectiveness.

An Illustrative Model

There are five basic phases to program evaluation: (1) purpose, (2) data collection design, (3) analysis of the data, (4) reporting the findings, and (5) acting on the findings, decisions and actions. A description of each phase follows:

Phase 1: Purpose. The first phase is the most critical because it sets the stage for the four subsequent phases. The purpose of the evaluation needs to be clearly stated and related questions need to be carefully addressed (i.e., Who needs the data? What information is needed? How soon is it needed? and, Why do they need the information?).

For example, a community college has invested $100,000 in a computerized career information system. The career center director is asking for an additional $20,000 to expand the system. The president of the college wants to know if this is a worthwhile investment. Clearly, the president wants evidence that the system has been effective and how the additional $20,000 will make it more effective.

A second example represents a different level of purpose. A program has been teaching job search techniques, but the results are unsatisfactory. The purpose is to conduct a careful evaluation of the job search techniques. This should include evaluating techniques being used, teaching effectiveness, client utilization, and impediments and problems interfering with successful implementation.

Phase 2: Data collection design. Although phase 1 provides direction for the evaluation and the information needed, it does not include methods of obtaining this information. We need a data collection design responsive to such fundamental questions as: How do we obtain the data? When will it be obtained? Who will collect the data? Who will provide the data (respondents)? How long will it take to get it? How much will it cost?

Table 2 on program evaluation data provides a general framework for considering of these questions. According to Leibowitz and Schlossberg

(1981) evaluation data consist of three types: (a) reaction, (b) learning, and (c) behavioral and organizational change. The first type, reaction data, is process-oriented; data are obtained about the soundness of the procedures used for program activities. These are usually subjective reactions from clients. For example, was the job search technique clearly communicated? Were the sample materials easy to read?

The other two types of evaluation data are outcome data, assessing the effects of the program on the client and the organization. This includes acquisition of new skills, improved morale, number of job placements, reduced turnover, and job satisfaction. The second type, learning data, is an objective assessment of client learning from an activity. Often standardized tests or other objective techniques are used to measure these results. The third type, behavioral and organizational change data, is again, objective evidence of outcome after a specified period of time. The data represent long-term changes or results.

Phase 3: Analysis of the data. The analysis should be organized to answer the original questions in the purpose phase. The answers (findings) should be organized systematically so that the reader can clearly see the relationships between the data and the original questions. For example, in the previous illustration of assessing the clients' reactions to learning and using job search techniques, it might be found that these are not working for various reasons. Possibly some clients cannot read help-wanted ads. Maybe there are not enough telephones to respond to the job openings. It could be that some clients fear job rejections. Also, some may not be receiving job messages due to a breakdown in the communication system.

Phase 4: Reporting the findings. How should the evaluation data be reported? Optimal media techniques should be used to communicate the findings. Yet perhaps more important is that optional recommendations be given where appropriate for subsequent decisions and activities. For example, for job search techniques it might be recommended that: (a) additional telephones be installed for a specified cost, (b) volunteers be used to help record job messages, and (c) telephone schedules be developed to distribute the calls.

Phase 5: Acting on the findings (decisions and actions). The best way to lose staff enthusiasm for conducting evaluations is for staff to discover that no action was taken as a result of the evaluation and that it was a total waste of time, energy, and dollars. Unfortunately this often occurs. Consequently it is essential that this phase is carefully planned and implemented. Will the right people read the evaluation (those in authority to make decisions)? Are the actions feasible? Was adequate information provided for decisions?

Client and Program Outcomes

In assessing the effects of a career development program, often there is ambiguity as to what specific outcomes should be assessed. To provide some direction for the range of outcomes that could be assessed, it is

Table 2
Program Evaluation Data

Data Category	*What to Collect*	*How to Collect*	*When to Collect*
Reaction	Subjective judgments about the effectiveness of techniques, methods, and materials *Examples:* Was the method clearly presented? Was it helpful? Was it easy to learn? Did it take too long? Were the materials up to date?	Questionnaires, interviews	Immediately after program
Learning	Objective evidence of learning *Examples:* Knowledge of career exploration sources Acquisition of job search techniques Knowledge of how to apply for training	Goal attainment scaling tests questionnaires behavior samples simulations interviews	Immediately after program

Behavioral and organizational change	Objective evidence of the long-term results of the program *Examples:* Job placement Morale Attitudes Productivity indices Career satisfaction Employee turnover	After a specified period of time

Note. From "Designing Career Development Programs in Organizations: A Systems Approach" (p. 285) by Z. Leibowitz and N. Schlossberg. In D.H. Montross and C.J. Shinkman (Eds.), *Career Development in the 1980s: Theory and Practice*, 1981, Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas. Copyright 1981 by Charles C Thomas, Publishers. Adapted by courtesy of Charles C Thomas, Publishers, Springfield, Illinois.

suggested that these be classified into two groups: (a) client outcomes, and (b) program outcomes. Client outcomes represent fairly specific client behaviors that result from counseling and usually reflect client goals. Fretz (1981) classified these as follows:

Career Knowledge and Skills

- accuracy of self-knowledge;
- accuracy of occupational information;
- accuracy of job-seeking skills knowledge;
- planning and goal selection skills;
- appropriateness of choices (realism); and
- range of choices.

Career behavior

- career information seeking;
- relevant academic performance;
- seeking initial/new job;
- getting initial/new job;
- job ratings;
- being promoted; and
- earnings.

Sentiments

- attitudes toward choices: certainty, satisfaction, commitment, career salience;
- job satisfaction;
- quality-of-life ratings;
- satisfaction with intervention; and
- perceived effectiveness of intervention.

Effective role functioning

- self-concept adequacy;
- personal adjustment;
- relapses of career problems; and
- contributions to community.

Program outcomes represent broader programmatic goals and reflect the overall operations of the program. They also encompass client outcomes in that they represent an index of the total effectiveness of the program. According to Braskamp (1979) these might include:

- the program's outreach, visibility, and liaison with other services and agencies within the community;
- the quality, recentness, and appropriateness of resource materials, facilities, and equipment;
- the management of the services;
- the quality and competencies of program staff;
- the program's image;
- the range of services provided; and
- program budget.

Related Issues

As we look at the status of evaluating the effectiveness of adult career development programs, at least four issues need to be addressed: measurement, methodology, outcomes, and stimulation of more evaluation.

Measurement. Although a vast array of aptitude, ability, and interest measurement techniques are available to facilitate career development, measurement of client outcomes is very limited (Kapes & Mastie, 1982). Standardized tests to assess client outcomes are pretty much limited to vocational maturity, decision-making behavior, and attitude change. Many of the outcomes that need to be assessed are amenable to behavioral sampling and observations (i.e., demonstration of use of career planning and job search skills, supervisory ratings of job adjustment, morale, and productivity). It would be helpful for future evaluations if assessment experts could devise alternative approaches for measuring client outcomes. Perhaps a manual could be developed describing how various outcomes could be assessed.

Methodology. In their review of numerous vocational intervention studies, Spokane and Oliver (1983) identified various methodological weaknesses that reduce internal and external validity. They devised a "suggestions" checklist to improve vocational intervention evaluation. The checklist covers four areas: design and analysis, criteria, instrumentation, and reporting. Those who want to improve the quality of assessing program effectiveness could profit from reviewing their checklist before designing evaluation studies.

Vocational outcomes. These need to be more explictly defined for each client. It is a mistake to assume that all clients of a group treatment expect the same treatment outcomes. With that assumption, outcome criteria would be the same for all clients and chances for demonstrating differential effectiveness would be reduced. For example, client outcome expectancies for a career planning group may vary from simply confirming a career decision to expanding career options or narrowing choices. It would be inappropriate to use the same outcome criteria for all members of a group. This would suggest, as Spokane and Oliver (1983) recommend, that clients need to be diagnosed more carefully to identify their counseling goals to be used as outcome criteria. Goal attainment scaling is useful as an individualized approach to setting and measuring specific client outcomes.

Stimulating more effective evaluation. This is not easy to do in view of some of the constraints mentioned earlier. It is hoped that the many models outlined earlier, however, will help increase the thinking about the possibility of conducting an evaluation. Half of the battle is getting started. Start on a small scale by asking basic questions (i.e., Who wants the information? What information is needed? How can it be obtained?). These questions eventually can be refined into a more sophisticated scheme and can be used to stimulate program staff to become involved in evaluation.

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SECTION VII:

FUTURE TRENDS

ANTICIPATING THE FUTURE . . .

CHAPTER 22

Future Trends in Adult Career Development

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Looking into the future is a risky action. The history of economic and labor-market forecasting has demonstrated this time and again. Political forecasting is equally, if not more, perilous. Predicting what will happen in a field that is partly dependent on economic and political developments involves dealing with compound unreliability. Perhaps this is why senior members of the counseling profession are typically those who are asked to produce chapters or lectures with titles such as this. If they err, their reputations have already been made or broken, whereas a young professional building a career might do more damage to a budding reputation!

Be that as it may, there are some things we know about the present that provide a basis for looking ahead. These things range from changes that have taken place in the birthrate and in longevity to developments in the technology and art of counseling.

SOCIOECONOMIC TRENDS

Our Aging Population

It is well known that our population is getting steadily older. Older in the sense that the middle-aged and elderly were born when the birthrate was higher than it is now, so our elders constitute a relatively greater proportion of the population. Older, too, in the sense that nutrition and health care have improved. So over the years more people live longer. Life expectancy at age 65 and 70 is greater than it used to be. Most people who live to be that old can expect to live well into their 70s and many even into their 80s. Then too, they can expect to be moderately active during most of those years.

The aging of our population has affected age groups other than the elderly. Proportional changes make for changes in other age ranges. The middle-aged of today (now in their late 30s and early 40s) are the product of the baby boom of the end of World War II. The bulge at that level means increased competition for the better jobs at a time when the next vintage is smaller. Also it will remain smaller for some years until the baby-boom adults produce children in numbers proportioned to their own early years, if indeed they do, in this age of contraception. As the large population of elders retires there should be more room at the top for the current 40-year-olds. However, with the raising of the mandatory retirement age and the well-documented preference of the abler members of the work force to keep active in a more focused way, the competition for the more rewarding jobs may remain strong. That the next generation of college students should be larger than the present does suggest a large body of consumers of education and of goods and services in 10 or 15 years. But predicting occupational trends that far in advance has so far proved to be a risky business.

The Employment of Women, Ethnic Minorities, and the Handicapped

Progress was made in opening up the labor market, particularly the higher-level managerial and professional jobs, to women and ethnic minorities following World War II. Now there seems to be a period of weakening of equal opportunity; progress is rarely a linear process. It may be that we are on a plateau in the opening up of employment opportunities. It is difficult for people who have seen progress to accept a slowing of the pace.

That the traditionally male and white occupations will continue to become sex- and color- and national-origins-blind seems most likely. Women have been proving themselves in "men's work." Blacks and Hispanics have found increasing opportunities. With reverse discrimination these groups have been able to command higher salaries than their white colleagues in some traditionally white settings. These are the exceptions, but they help to tell a story of social policy and practice that should lead, in due course, to pay according to level and level according to ability.

A part of these developments is the opening up of traditionally female occupations to men as in the health professions. This trend may help to raise the pay levels in those jobs. It would be interesting to have data on possible changes in the willingness of whites to take traditionally black jobs, but that trend is unlikely because of the low pay prevailing in those fields. But, if women and blacks are taking over some of the higher-level jobs that men once held, some white males must be directly or indirectly displaced. If displaced, they must either find or make new jobs at their own levels or move down the ladder. A general bumping process could result. Observation suggests that this may be taking place in the airline and construction industries.

In the long run the year 2001 seems likely to hold more equality of career opportunity than there is now. Certainly career development and counseling programs have become much less sex- and color-biased. The materials for such work are freer of the old biases. There is a tendency to question the old barriers and to look for ways of helping people overcome them. Whereas the question used to be: "What can this counselee do, given his or her social handicap?" The question now is: "How can this person maximize his or her opportunities for self-development and career self-actualization?" What has been written here of sex and ethnicity can also be written of physical and mental handicaps. The focus now is on potential and on ways of maximizing it.

The Third World and the Aging West

The last 40 years have seen the emergence of the Third World. The former colonies have attempted to catch up with the Western World economically, and therefore educationally, with inevitable social consequences. Instead of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods, the Third World nations have pressed for their own manufacturing potential. Many of them today exhibit the same type of exploitation of the environment and their workers that once was rampant and is still seen at times in the West. With the acquisition of manufacturing facilities and their lower standards of living, many of these new countries have been able to produce more cheaply and to take over important segments of the older Western countries' markets. In the United States, this has had great impact on the electronics, automotive, and textile industries, to name just three. Great Britain, France, and Germany have had the same experience. The end is not in sight.

There will, no doubt, be major efforts in countries like the United States to find ways of countering the decline of opportunity in those major industries employing thousands of people. Protectionism seems not to be a promising way of doing this, for in closing our own markets, others close theirs to us. Even if the policy could be made to work, it would be one of preserving the archaic and obsolescent, one of retrogression rather than progress. If we follow the current example of Japan, or the recent one of West Germany, we will concentrate on finding new products, new ways of production, and new markets. We will, in other words, create new occupations and new job opportunities to replace the old. In a later section on innovation, these possibilities will be considered along with what they mean for career development and counseling.

A LIFE-SPAN PERSPECTIVE

One of the encouraging trends of the past 2 decades has been a recognition, among career development specialists and, rather belatedly, among developmental psychologists, of the importance of a life-span perspective, and with it of a life-space perspective (Super, 1980, 1983). Knowledge of what each age cohort has faced and of how it has coped can help in the understanding of what new cohorts may face as they move into the next life stage. Socioeconomic changes make it impossible to predict the same conditions for the rising generation. However, ongoing change in conditions can suggest possible changes in developmental processes and outcomes. In career development it is important to know the typical developmental tasks of a given life stage, general coping strategies and outcomes, changes in life-career roles with age and experience, past and present socioeconomic changes' effect on careers, and the handling of transitions that accompany personal and social change.

There is no need, here, to recapitulate life-stage theory as applied to careers, for it is now part of the common knowledge of counselors and psychologists (Brown & Brooks, 1984; Montross & Shinkman, 1981; Watts, Super, & Kidd, 1981). But the concepts of life stages and life space provide a good framework for what follows. Figure 1 is a widely used graphic representation of the scheme.

The First Transition: From School to Work

The transition from school to work is actually an adolescent rather than an adult transition. Full adulthood cannot be said to be reached until sometime in the middle or late 20s. The title "young adult" is in fact a courtesy title, reminiscent of some Central European countries in which even a 12-year-old was not long ago addressed as either "Sir Knight" or "Sir Youth." But, as a transition to adulthood, it needs consideration here.

The first years after leaving school or college, whether at age 16, 18, 21, or 25, are years of exploration. Although the youth may, in a program of business, trade, or professional training, have had considerable exposure to an occupational field, the student status is generally one of isolation from the world of work (cooperative education programs are an exception). Educational institutions tend to be nurturing, whereas business and industry (even educational and social agencies when acting as employers), tend to be more competitive. Thus, engineers from the most selective engineering colleges are often viewed by employers as needing a great deal of on-the-job training. Teachers with graduate qualifications still often need help in classroom management. Applied psychologists moving from training to employment generally need an extended internship. Universities that produce the best researchers are generally accused of producing less useful new employees than those produced by institutions with a "nuts-and-bolts" tradition. Encountering new demands in a sink-or-swim situation, maturing youth find that they have to make both personal and occupational adjustments.

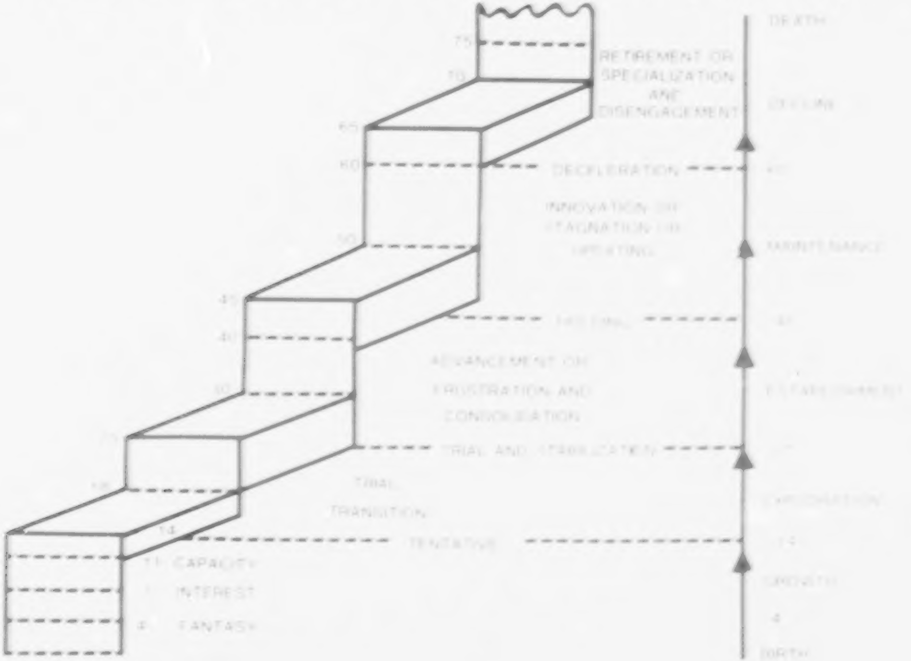
For this reason there is much floundering and trial even for those who have acquired some occupational training. Those who have had no training for any occupation—most academic and general high school graduates and most liberal arts college graduates—may do worse than that. They may drift into whatever job happens to be available. Thus, they stand in even more need of orientation to the world of work. Occupations and careers have not been part of their preparation for life.

Most of the subjects of the Career Pattern Study (CPS; Super, 1985) were found to have changed jobs or occupations during the first few years in the labor force. Only one-half of them were found to be stabilizing in an occupation when they were 25, and 37% were still exploring (i.e., drifting, floundering, or truly exploring) at age 36. One of the greatest challenges to guidance and counseling is to turn drifting and floundering into more systematic exploration. Then at age 25 or 35, fewer men and women will say, like many of the CPS young adults, "You know, I've been working for 7 years and I've gotten nowhere: no skills, no savings, no security—it's time I settled down."

In the early 20s movement to another job is relatively easy, particularly in a good labor market. Most young people do change jobs several times

Figure 1

Life Stages and Developmental Tasks. From "Career and Life Development (p. 192–234) by *Donald E. Super. In D. Brown & L. Brooks (Ed.), Career Choice and Development*, 1984, *San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Copyright 1984 by Jossey-Bass. Reprinted by permission.*


75
70
RETIREMENT OR
SPECIALIZATION
AND
DISENGAGEMENT
DEATH
DECLINE
65
60
DECELERATION
65
INNOVATION OR
STAGNATION OR
UPDATING
50
MAINTENANCE
45
HOLDING
45
40
ADVANCEMENT OR
FRUSTRATION AND
CONSOLIDATION
30
ESTABLISHMENT
25
TRIAL AND STABILIZATION
25
18
TRIAL
TRANSITION
EXPLORATION
14
TENTATIVE
14
11 CAPACITY
7 INTEREST
GROWTH
4 FANTASY
4
BIRTH

before settling down, and many change occupations. It is for this reason that the conventional career pattern, typical of so many middle-class men and women, denotes a sequence of several job changes followed by settling down, by stabilizing, in the late 20s and early 30s. Even those with stable careers find this a transition period. The culture of the engineering school or university is different from that of the world of work in strictness of demands, penalties for not meeting demands, and the repetitiveness of daily routines.

Therefore the expectations are that, during the foreseeable future, more attention will be paid to turning drifting and floundering into more systematic exploration through ongoing evaluation and planning for the next steps. There will be more school and college courses like Guided Career Exploration (Super and Bowlsbey, 1979) that teach the concept of careers as life stages with changing vocational development tasks and self-understanding knowledge of the world of work and career planning and decision making. Computerized career development systems can be expected to progress beyond matching people and occupations and helping make occupational and educational choices to teaching the concepts of evolving careers with changes in both the person's situation and self.

The Second Transition: Settling Down

In the middle and late 20s, sometimes early 30s, the period of unencumbered drifting, floundering, or trial comes to an end. These are the years of marrying and establishing a home and settling into a community and leisure activities. More often, homemaking and child rearing become predominant and the school and church become the secondary foci of family activity. With dependents or without, working couples are emotionally and socially interdependent. There is a feeling of needing to develop economic security and the social support systems that are generally both the result and cause of stability in the career.

These are therefore the years of establishment. In this stage the young men and women who have not laid good foundations for emerging and evolving careers will continue the floundering or drifting of the years after leaving school and college. Lacking a good experience record, they will not look promising to employers and may join the ranks of the permanently unemployed. Concern about youth unemployment has, since the middle 1970s, directed increasing attention to this problem both here and in Europe (Watts, 1983). As a result, postschool job training programs such as those of the Great Depression have been revived. Special help is being provided for entry into the labor force before the eligibility period expires. But these programs touch only a small percentage of those floundering in the labor market or retreating to its margins. There is a need for substantive administrative ability and political skills to develop transition programs for the unestablished. Otherwise, the establishment stage will become, for far too many people, a period of establishment in nothing.

In the meantime, those with the personal potential and with the environmental resources that facilitate stabilizing must not be forgotten. Given their importance to society, they are not likely to be. Because their ability to cope or to muddle through has enabled them to find stable places in the economy, it is very likely that too few of them will get needed help in the form of transition counseling. Yet, this is a period that is more important to the economy than is the transition to retirement, which has commanded attention. Perhaps there is room for optimism that the increasing attention given in recent years to career development in work situations (Montross & Shinkman, 1981; Super & Hall, 1978), will continue. New insights into how to facilitate stabilizing in a career will be developed and translated into career development programs. The concept of stabilizing in a career needs to include the idea of career change. Stabilizing means handling personal and situational changes in ways that keep them from being disruptive. To do this, career development programs must help men and women to understand and cope with the evolutionary and revolutionary changes that they may encounter in the near and distant future.

The Third Transition: Adapting to Stability and Instability

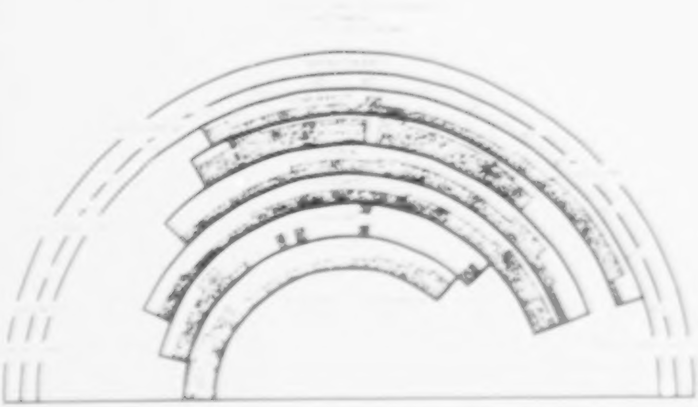
For many people in their 30s adjustment to a stable job is difficult. Others are unable to stabilize in a constructive way. It is possible to stabilize in a life of vagrancy or crime, but in career development theory, stabilizing and establishment have come to have a positive meaning. Those who find settling down unsatisfying have often assimilated the middle-class notion of a career as a ladder to be climbed, and climbing too often becomes a "must" and a "cannot." Not everyone can be the general manager or executive officer, and armies have more privates than sergeants, more captains than colonels. The 30s are a period in which many people reexamine their careers, their marriages (or lack thereof), and their social lives. People wonder whether they are getting as much out of life as they might. The life career rainbow, seen in Figure 2, used with its arcs blank in adult career development workshops, frequently brings these role dissatisfactions to the surface in seemingly well-adjusted people. In group or individual counseling they review their careers as they have evolved and as they would like them to evolve in the future and see their shortcomings.

Some of these adults settle down resignedly to frustration at their desks, counters, or workbenches while their managers wonder how to motivate them to greater productivity. Others recognize that with updating of their knowledge and skills, innovating in their work, or with lateral moves and leisure outlets, they may find new satisfactions in the balance of their work and leisure lives. That Alexander the Great wept at the thought of having no more worlds to conquer was a reflection on his knowledge of the world, on his ability to enjoy what he had, and on his personality. But legend says he wept nevertheless. Those who find themselves pursuing unstable or multiple-trial careers (Miller and Form, 1951) and Super (1957, 1985) add to the ranks of the dissatisfied. Many adults, however, do enjoy careers in which they make fairly frequent changes of employers, jobs, and even occupations—although often at some expense to or disruption of their families.

Again, as our understanding of this transition increases, career development programs will pay more attention to, and use more effective

Figure 2

The Life-Career Rainbow: Six Life Roles in Schematic Life Space. From "Career and Life Development (p. 192–234) *by Donald E. Super. In D. Brown & L. Brooks (Ed.), Career Choice and Development, 1984, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Copyright 1984 by Jossey-Bass. Reprinted by permission.*



means of helping people to avoid the frustrations of stagnating in unsatisfying jobs and of experiencing unwanted job changes. These improvements should increase the opportunities for career development specialists in work situations and in career and family counseling centers.

The Fourth Transition: Entering the Maintenance Stage

In the maintenance stage people cope in one of three ways with approaching the peak of their capacities and careers. First, they may stagnate, either happily or unhappily. Second, they may update their skills and knowledge to keep pace with changing technologies and demands. Third, they may break out in new directions by innovating in their existing jobs or by changing to new fields of endeavor. One man in the first category worked unhappily for years, spreading unhappiness at home and into his neighborhood. At age 57 he was released by his corporation because, as he put it, "they were getting rid of the dead wood, and I was it." In the second category a college professor was revising a textbook that was a source of real satisfaction to her. Then she realized that she did not want to keep on revising her earlier textbooks for the next 30 years of her working life. Looking for new worlds to conquer, she found a new aspect of her specialty that challenged her for another decade. In the third group was a man in a high technology industry who was the ideal "company man," moving from job to job and place to place as needed by his company. Then he suddenly decided (spurred by his wife and daughter) to resign and start his own small company, both to stabilize his home life and to express himself more fully at work.

The increasing pace of technological change makes it clear that stagnating will be more and more difficult for the rest of this century, for computers and automation are taking over many routine jobs even while they create others. Production methods are changing even in fishing; for example, entrepreneurs and innovative Mexicans who raise pond-grown shrimp are displacing the more picturesque shrimp boats and the seemingly less-adaptable fishermen of coastal Georgia. Unstable careers with frequent changes will become more common. This will call for more polyvalent education, more personal flexibility, life-long education and training, and continuously available career development and counseling programs and services. Stagnaters will face more career crises. Updaters will add to their knowledge and skills and thus experience self-renewal if not greater self-realization. Innovators will create new ways of doing things and new jobs, new occupations, and even new industries. These will allow new opportunities for self-expression.

The programs and services accompanying these changes will call for orientation programs concerning impending changes, counseling for coping with them, job rotation for potential stagnaters, and the use of leisure as a supplement and complement to work. Work may come to be seen as the means of maintaining a desired life style in which homemaking, leisure, and community service activities provide the more intrinsic satisfactions.

The Fifth Transition: Deceleration

The approach of the decline stage is often accompanied by slowing the pace of work, reducing time and energy expended, dropping or delegating tasks to focus on others that are more congenial, and lessening the commitment to work. There are exceptions at this stage, for some men and women put forth greater effort to keep in the mainstream of their occupations. They tend to be those who have been innovators, or those who for extraneous reasons (e.g., a second marriage and more children to educate) need to keep producing a substantial income beyond retirement. In such cases the entry into the decline stage is delayed.

In recent years counseling programs in business, industry, government, and educational institutions have grown in response to the needs resulting from variations in this transition. Books and audiovisual aids have been produced to help people prepare for and cope with the transition. Many of these have been described in previous chapters. An increasing number of programs, services, and materials of this type can be anticipated. They will show increased sophistication as needs are understood, their use is accepted, and the technologies become highly developed.

With deceleration and the anticipation of retirement, there has been an increased appreciation of the importance of leisure. But for leisure activities to be most meaningful in retirement they should have meaning before retirement, for then some skills and relevant contacts will have been developed. Lessened pressure to carry one's work home allows more time and inclination for the constructive use of leisure. Thus leisure counseling, leisure education, and leisure resources are increasing in availability and use. The career of the person portrayed in Figure 2 shows a significant amount of time given just after retirement to study for the more effective or challenging use of the new leisure. Evidence suggests that people benefit more in retirement if they have cultivated potential leisure interests prior to retirement. They suffer less in the transition to full-time retirement. The sudden cessation of work often leaves many people with a loss of role and self-esteem. Unhappy idleness then leads to domestic friction. Tapering off at work and expanding leisure roles is good for self-esteem as retirement approaches.

The Sixth Transition: Adjustment to Retirement

Only a decade or two ago much attention was being paid to facilitating early retirement at age 55 or 60 rather than the then-mandatory 65. Today the legal age has been raised to 70. Although early retirement is still possible and frequent in many settings, a significant proportion of these early "retirees" actually moves to another job or occupation. Sometimes the new job has more appeal because of interest in the work, greater freedom to pursue the work in the preferred way or location, or a simple desire for change. As always, the higher the status of the individual, the more freedom there will be to choose rather than simply to take what is available. These trends may be expected to continue and probably to increase as career development programs, services, and methods keep pace with increasing knowledge of careeer development.

Our Understanding of Aging

The increased numbers and proportions of older people, combined with better health and greater longevity, have had two important results. There is greater political activity by and for the elderly in both their active and inactive years. The second result has been a result of the first: political activity and legislation for the elderly has led to the creation of private and public agencies to study and to meet their needs, capacities, and care. Many of these agencies and their studies are identified within other chapters. What new developments might we expect?

It is now well established that people who remain active in retirement tend to live longer and more happily than do those who cease activity upon retiring. Those who carry over into retirement work or work-like activities (e.g., a former teacher tutoring slow learners after school) and established hobbies are better satisfied with their life situations (Steer, 1970). It is also known that mental ability as assessed by tested intelligence continues to increase beyond the once-credited limits of 15 or 16, when people keep on exposing themselves to learning situations. This happens despite the tendency to slow down with age, a tendency related no doubt to neural changes but also to changes in values. Prestige and power tend to be valued less in late middle age than in adolescence and early adulthood. In old age there may be a slight increase in prestige values, perhaps in reaction to physical decline and a desire to maintain status. Altruism increases with old age as a desire to help people, but not necessarily for social interaction: kindness and goodwill may be easier when there is less stimulus for competition and more time to think about and to give to people. With age there is a mellowing, according to well-conceived and executed research (Lowenthal, 1975).

The Roles of the Elderly

The fact that young adults are less numerous than older adults has begun to have an impact on the roles played by the elderly. They are enriching the functioning of some organizations and playing unique roles as they return to work in indirect and direct ways. Some retired men and women move in retirement to regular jobs in which their knowledge and experience are needed because of special talents. Others are mobilized as volunteers, either in some form of advisory council to small businesses or as volunteers in museums, schools, and social agencies. The need for them is felt as more young women opt for full-time work, more married women with older children choose to work, and more women with grown children re-enter the labor force. Thus, the ranks of volunteers are depleted.

The fact that most women work has added to the demand for older people to help as employees or volunteers with young children and with the aged. Grandparenting has become a word along with parenting, in recognition of the increased importance of the role.

Thus, both population trends and the recognition of the roles that elderly people can play have conspired to facilitate the continuing career development of the elderly. The age is still one of decline, but the process is delayed and modified by better health and greater social usefulness. The manifestations of decline are more in the physical than the intellectual domain during the first 2 decades of retirement.

Retirement is a process of disengagement. Preretirement consists of diminishing the work role, and retirement consists of further diminishing that role and substituting the volunteer role. Regular commitment is dropped in favor of minimal-commitment odd jobs (e.g., board member or handyman) and leisure activities. In due course even these are dropped for sedentary activities within the place of residence.

In the past, services in this last stage have been more reactive than proactive. Now attention given to the elderly is resulting in programs and services that reach out to make the disengagement steps constructive. Disengagement is seen as a kind of *re*-engagement. The results should have positive effects on self-esteem and personality. Redefined, there will be a growth in disengagement programs.

CHANGING PROGRAMS, METHODS, AND MEASURES FOR A CHANGING SOCIETY

Although the patterns of careers and the stages of life and of work are likely to remain essentially the same as during the past 50 years, their content in the decades ahead is likely to change considerably and the rates of movement of individuals through the maxicycle and its minicycles will differ. The year 2001 is approaching rapidly, but technological and economic changes are taking place still more rapidly. The post World War II babies can remember when there was no television. Those born after the Korean War can remember when man first walked on the moon.

Advances in career development and counseling programs need to focus on the problems of life's transitions and tasks of coping with transitions. The first developments needed are in the assessment of individual and group needs. The second advances need to be in counseling methods, both group and individual.

Assessment

In a developmental model of assessment recently proposed (Super, 1983), career or vocational assessments are viewed as really adequate only when the life stage and substage of the individual being assessed are taken into account. Age and year in school can give a rough indication of a student's probable stage of career development. Employment experience can yield a rough estimate of adult career development. Yet to rely on such data is like assuming that everyone has an average IQ, an average amount of mechanical aptitude, and a flat profile on an interest inventory. A 15-year old may know a great deal about a preferred occupation and have a high interest score in that occupation, but know so little about the world of work that the wisdom of focusing on one field of work without knowing the other options must be questioned. This might be a case of premature foreclosure. If there has been little exploration, if there is little knowledge of career decision-making principles and determinants, this 15-year-old's "choice" may be the result of emotional fixation rather than rational decision making. Furthermore, the role of worker may seem so unimportant to this 15-year-old that motivation to do well on aptitude tests and to respond thoughtfully to interest inventories is lacking. Such cases are frequent in youths who are so rich or so poor that the need and the opportunity to work may seem remote. Such attitudes were once quite common among girls and women who grew up in environments in which a woman's role was in the home.

Career Maturity and Role Salience

To help with such assessments, tests and inventories of career maturity and of role salience have recently been developed. The former were first made generally available during the 1970s and the latter only now. An anticipated technological advance of the next 10 or 15 years will undoubtedly be a substantial increase in the use of such instruments. With them will come a better understanding of readiness to make career decisions and to cope with vocational development tasks.

Career maturity. The pioneer theoretical work on career development was done 35 years ago by the Career Pattern Study (Super, Crites, Hummel, Moser, Overstreet, & Warnath, 1957; Super, 1985). In this study theory was developed and tested with cumbersome but reliable and valid innovative measures (Jordaan & Heyde, 1979; Super & Overstreet, 1960). This work led to the development of the first practical measure of vocational or career maturity (Crites, 1973, 1978), the Career Maturity Inventory (CMI). A little later an instrument that was being widely used in research and evaluation was made available for general use (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981 and 1982)—the Career Development Inventory (CDI). These two pioneer, but well-researched and practical, measures were accompanied by the Cognitive Vocational Maturity Test (CVMT), well researched but not yet published (Westbrook & Parry-Hill, 1967). The CVMT and the CMI are for use in high schools, whereas the CDI has both high school and college forms. No equivalent adult forms have been developed because the universes of attitudes and knowledge relevant to careers in adulthood differ so with occupation, education, and socioeconomic status (Super & Kidd, 1979). However, the Adult Career Concerns Inventory (ACCI, Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Myers, & Jordaan, 1985) has been developed and is now available for research and exploratory use in counseling and evaluation. It assesses the degree and focus of adult career concerns and pinpoints the developmental tasks and life stages currently commanding attention.

The future will no doubt see multidimensional career development inventories for adults comparable to those for adolescents. They will assess the major dimensions of career maturity in adolescents (CDI and CMI) or what is called career adaptability in adults (Super & Kidd, 1979). It will also bring extensive use of such measures in schools, colleges, and adult counseling situations to improve assessment of counseling and career development needs and the interpretation of more traditional vocational tests and inventories.

Role Salience. It is the Work Importance Study that began both theoretical and technical work on role salience (Super, 1982), bringing together several strands of work that had been under way for some time on job involvement, career commitment, commitment to home and family, and work alienation. The WIS sought to sharpen and to put into operation concepts brought together in the Career Rainbow, a life-span, life-space model of careers (Super, 1980) used in career education courses (Super & Bowlsbey, 1979) and in computerized career guidance systems (Bowlsbey, 1984). Developed by a crossnational team of specialists and standardized in Australia, Canada, Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia, Israel, and the United States, the Salience Inventory (Super & Nevill, 1985) assesses the relative importance of five major life career roles: student, worker, homemaker, leisurite, and citizen. Each role is examined in terms of the individual's actual and anticipated participation, commitment, and values. The SI can be used with both adolescents and adults to help ascertain the career commitment or occupational involvement of the respondent, and to compare this with his or her relative involvement in study, home and family, leisure activities, and community service (Super & Nevill, 1984).

Applications. The use of career maturity and salience inventories in individual assessment in schools, colleges, and adult counseling has been explored in workshops in the United States, France, Portugal and Canada. Some high school cases have been written up in a recent journal article (Super, 1983). The widespread interest in these concepts and instruments suggests that the next decade or two will see important theoretical and practical developments in their use.

The Life Span

Interest in the whole life span dates from the work of G. Stanley Hall soon after the opening of the 20th century. It was cultivated next by Sidney Pressey in the 1930s. It then died down in developmental psychology to be revived in the 1970s when psychologists brought together their interests in childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age. They began studying life-span developmental psychology. Other psychologists who have studied cognitive, emotional, motor, or social development discovered the importance of not isolating one aspect of development from others if any one of them was to be fully understood. Books of case studies on personality development such as White's (1952) were thus followed by annual volumes such as those often edited by Baltes (1978). Although the developmentalists have tended to neglect work and occupations as theaters and foci of development (Super, 1985), vocational psychologists and a few developmentalists have sought to bring these approaches and bodies of knowledge together. The results have been treatises on career development (Osipow, 1983; Super, 1957, 1980; Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1983) that deal with aptitudes, interests, personality, life experience, and occupational choice over the whole life span. At the same time, authors of matching theories have greatly modified them to take into account changes in people and situations over time (Holland, 1966, rev. 1973 and 1985).

Late adolescence and early adulthood are now viewed as periods of occupational drifting, floundering, or trial leading to stabilizing. Young adulthood is a period of stabilizing for many, but significant numbers of men and women continue to drift or to flounder for some years. Chronological maturity does not necessarily lead to career maturity. Much is known about the psychological, educational and socio-economic determinants of drifting and floundering. The causes of work alienation are still being studied and there is much to learn about how to correct and avoid it. But we still do not know how to facilitate stabilizing. Important steps forward can be anticipated in work motivation and career commitment, and in education and guidance to turn drifting and floundering into exploration and stabilization.

Attempts to put our new knowledge and technologies to work in this way are seen in the computerization of career or vocational guidance, exemplified by Discover, Discover II, and Discover for Business and Industry (Bowlsbey, 1984) and SIGI (Katz, Chapman, Norris, & Pears, 1977) described in Heppner (1985). Careers are increasingly being treated as dynamic manifestations of people adapting to environments and of environments being adapted to people. "Career choice" is a series of minichoices. Other attempts are made in career education courses that deal with choice as emergent over time, courses in which career development is treated as guided and evaluated occupational exploration (e.g., Super & Bowlsbey, 1979).

Dual Careers

The term dual career has two meanings. That which is currently accepted is that of a man and woman living and homemaking together while each also pursues an occupational career. These are best called *conjoint or coupled careers*. The term has also denoted the pursuit by one person of two careers, one occupational and the other homemaking, or one occupational and the other civic, or one in one occupation and the other in another occupation (e.g., a school teacher by day and a bartender at night). These could be called *dual-role careers*. Both conceptions should be kept in mind and better understood. Fortunately, more attention in recent years has been directed to each type of dual career, although it is the husband-wife duality (coupled careers) that has commanded the most attention and research. An exception is the interest in single parents as homemakers and workers that has recently stimulated research and counseling efforts in dual-role careers.

The future will no doubt see important developments in our understanding of the nature of both dual-role careers and coupled careers. Through this understanding of and attempting to help with the associated problems, there will be improved aids and better services for working wives, for homemaking husbands, and for persons who work at two different jobs or occupations.

Leisure

Leisure has now become legitimate both in the eyes of the public and in the work of behavioral scientists and practicing counselors. At one time it was a subject of study largely by philosophers and sociologically oriented historians. The psychology of avocations (Super, 1940) went virtually unnoticed and vocational psychology pre-empted all of the time and energies of those who might have studied leisure. Now a new field of leisure studies and leisure counseling has come into being (McDaniels, 1984). The reasons for this change of interest and redirection of effort are complex. They include a decline in the Protestant work ethic, greater awareness of the routine and psychologically unrewarding nature of much work (Havighurst's "society maintaining" as contrasted with "ego involving jobs" in Borow, 1964, pp. 226–227), and the increase in the leisure time available through shorter working hours, increased longevity, and unemployment.

As result, more is now known about education-work-leisure relationships and how each can contribute to the other. There is a danger that attitudes toward leisure may polarize: for some leisure is a preparation for work, for others it is a compensation for work, and for still others it is valuable in its own right and through its contribution to other roles. Knowledge of and interest in leisure will be put to work more than ever as leisure becomes more generally available, its importance in human development and adjustment are realized, resources for fostering its effective use are improved, and guidance and counseling personnel equip themselves to provide help in its use.

Innovation

What has preceded is, of course, innovation, either recent, current, or anticipated. There are other trends that might be so classified, trends such as the increased use of peer counselors and group methods. Much has been learned about how to make better use of them. There have accordingly been great advances in both theory and practice in these areas.

But there is another kind of innovation, one that has had very little attention. This is guidance and counseling for innovation in the world of work. The extensive creativity that recent decades have fostered should bear fruit in tools and methods for the guidance and counseling of capacity and inclination to innovate. It is not just a matter of identifying, developing, and unleashing talent, but also one of helping youth and adults to recognize that not all opportunities for new occupations, new jobs, and new enterprises are *found* in the labor market and the economy. Some of them are *made* by the opportunity seeker. Vasco de Gama *created* the opportunity for direct trade with India and the East Indies. Eli Whitney *invented* a cotton gin that developed both the production of cotton and the market for it. Thomas Edison devised the gramophone and the electric light and thus created jobs in producing, distributing, and servicing them; and Henry Ford found much needed ways of making large numbers of automobiles available to large numbers of people at low prices. Such creations of new opportunities are common; the contemporary equivalent is the computer and the software industry that have changed so drastically since their invention only a generation ago.

It is true that only a small percentage of the population are innovators like Da Gama, Whitney, Edison, Ford, and the teams that invented the computer and the microchip. Those named are only a small sample of the innovators who might have been named. They include only Americans, after the 15th century Da Gama, and only mechanical and electrical inventors. No attempt was made to name social innovators such as Robert Owen, Arnold Toynbee, and Jane Addams, industrial innovators like the Rowntrees, or business innovators such as Sears and Roebuck.

The innovators may be a small percentage of the population, but how many more resources and opportunities the world would now have if more effort had been exerted to help more such people to develop rather than merely leaving it to them to find a way to emerge through the obstacles and inertias of established organizations and of established ways of doing things!

Efforts to help and to find such people are multiplying. Schools develop special programs for the gifted, alternative schools are established for those who seem to not fit into the standard system, and special education programs are set up for those who cannot fit into regular classes. In industry a few organizations have recognized the importance and long-term financial returns that result from identifying a few especially innovative people and letting them work on problems and projects of their own choosing. Some mistakes are made in the choice of individuals, but the same comment can be made concerning other industrial decisions, such as those at Three-Mile Island and at Bhopal, those that produced the Edsel, and those that produce the annual box office failures of the movies and the theater.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps this attempt to foresee what will happen in career development and in career counseling should close with this optimistic note about the future. The developments of the 20 years from 1920 to 1940 made available the tools for the assessment of vocational aptitudes and interests and for using occupational information in counseling. The developments of the next score of years, from 1940 to 1960, gave us a better understanding and mastery of the methods and techniques of guidance and counseling, and laid the groundwork for the concept and assessment of career development. The period from 1960 to 1980 saw the widespread adoption of these latter concepts and the creation of methods and programs for career development. Each decade, each score of years, each generation has produced its own innovators and innovations, building on prior progress. Social improvement is not necessarily linear and inevitable. But it seems reasonable to expect that, with better-trained people working in the field of career development and counseling, with better resources, progress in adult counseling will continue at the present accelerated rate.

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